FIELD REPORT: THREE KEY STATES

How Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio Line Up.

OCTOBER 31
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CRUSADE FOR DEWEY

By Virginia Gardner

Robert W. Lyons, boss of the Indiana GOP, and ex-treasurer of the Klan in the state, tells Virginia Gardner of his close friendship with Dewey. The lynch mob in Muncie—who was behind it. Court Asher, indicted fascist, works for the Republican ticket. First of a series.

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GOP PREVIEW FOR AMERICA

By THE EDITORS

THE article by Virginia Gardner in this issue is one that we wish we could place in the hands of millions of Americans. It concerns them deeply. It concerns their future and the future of America.

NEW MASSES sent Miss Gardner to Indiana after receiving information that the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups were working closely with leading Republicans in the campaign to elect Governor Dewey. Miss Gardner does not profess to have ferreted out all the facts: that would require the powers of the Department of Justice or a congressional investigating committee. But she has learned enough to give us a picture of ominous meaning. It is a picture of what is going on in just one state of the Union, of the kind of crowd that is backing Dewey, working for him, spending vast sums for him, sowing hate propaganda for him—yes, and advising him too. It is a picture of the subversive underground who are preparing to make November 7 their D-Day—the day when they take over.

For the traitors have grown bold: their arrogance stems from a sense of achievement. Have they not, in all reality, captured the central ramparts of the Republican Party? Have they not induced the Republican standard-bearers—Dewey and Bricker—to adopt their full political paraphernalia? The streamlined campaign of Governor Dewey and Bricker is, in essence, the Yorkville harangue of slick Joe McWilliams. Strip the demagogy and at core you find hatred—hate our allies, hate the Russians, hate the Jews, hate popular legislation—hate, hate, hate. It is the sermon of *Mein Kampf*, and, in fact, its indigenous missionaries—those on trial for sedition in Washington—are frequently absent from their places in the dock because they are out stumping for Dewey. Mrs. Dilling praises Dewey regularly in the *Patriotic Research Bulletin*, the sheet which originally caused her indictment. She was a featured attraction at a Dewey-Bricker meeting in Ohio, which had Gerald L. K. Smith as its chairman. Edward James Smythe absents himself from trial to stump for Dewey at meetings sponsored by his outfit, the so-called Protestant War Veterans of America. Likewise Frank W. Clark, who boasts a warm letter of thanks from Governor Bricker for his support: Clark, who told John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover*—"When the day comes to settle the score . . . I want to be made chief executioner of those guys who are now sticking up for democracy."

HONEST, easy-going America is insufficiently aware of these sinister aspects of the Dewey-Bricker campaign. Our people did not fully catch the import of that dark day when the Hoover-Pew-McCormick-Patterson Axis captured the leadership of the Republican Party. The GOP has fallen into the hands of desperate men; men whose motivations impel them to a way of life paralleling that of the Third Reich. When Wendell Willkie was cashiered, all that was decent and patriotic was thrust from the top councils of that party.

Examine the doings of their regional leaders at the grass-roots of America: Indiana, as described by Miss Gardner, is a political case-history. Here you see what Hoover and McCormick and Pew—and Dewey—mean in terms of people, in terms of our neighborhood life. You find here the indigenous storm trooper: the Klan in its hood; Court Asher and his Streicher propaganda; the masked mob on the prowl. And behind the scenes the slick men of power who talk of culture when they mean *Kultur*, men who put a respectable "Republican" face on their evil, pro-fascist plottings.

Unfortunately the people do not associate Dewey with this pattern; his ghost-writers have created the myth of a public-spirited citizen—the district attorney who hounds gangsters and vice kings to merited penitentiaries. But not even his streamlined publicity experts can attempt to persuade voters that Dewey has gunned for the tycoons of the political underworld. No, that is too much for them. For Dewey has gladly accepted all aid—and more—from those who would subvert everything America stands for. In fact, he has, in the course of his campaign, totally identified himself with the enemies of our republic. He is impaled on his record. Senator Truman put it well when he said, in Los Angeles the other day, "We must support the President. He demonstrated his leadership and courage . . . when his present opponent was flirting with the isolationists and currying the political support of the Hearsts and McCormicks. William Randolph Hearst, the man who was so tragically wrong on foreign affairs twenty years ago and who has never learned his lesson. And Col. "Bertie" McCormick, the man who published our secret war plans for the benefit of our enemies. Hearst and McCormick have not changed their stripes. . . . The Republican candidate has not repudiated their support—no, not even softly. Instead he has joined them."

He has joined them. He has not repudiated the night-riding Klan; he has not repudiated the treason of Hearst or McCormick or Joe McWilliams. He cannot, for they are his most loyal lieutenants. Nor would any token disavowals suffice: the entire tenor of his campaign is in the category of Court Asher's *X-Ray*, except in slicker and more oblique fashion necessitated by Dewey's ambition to capture the honest, independent voter and to obfuscate the patriotic Republican.

For these reasons we publish this article on Indiana: we wish only that it could go into every home where Americans today ponder the life-and-death issues of November 7. Indiana reveals the dreadful pattern being woven for America by unscrupulous political freebooters, a pattern Americans are fighting on all the fronts of the world to destroy.

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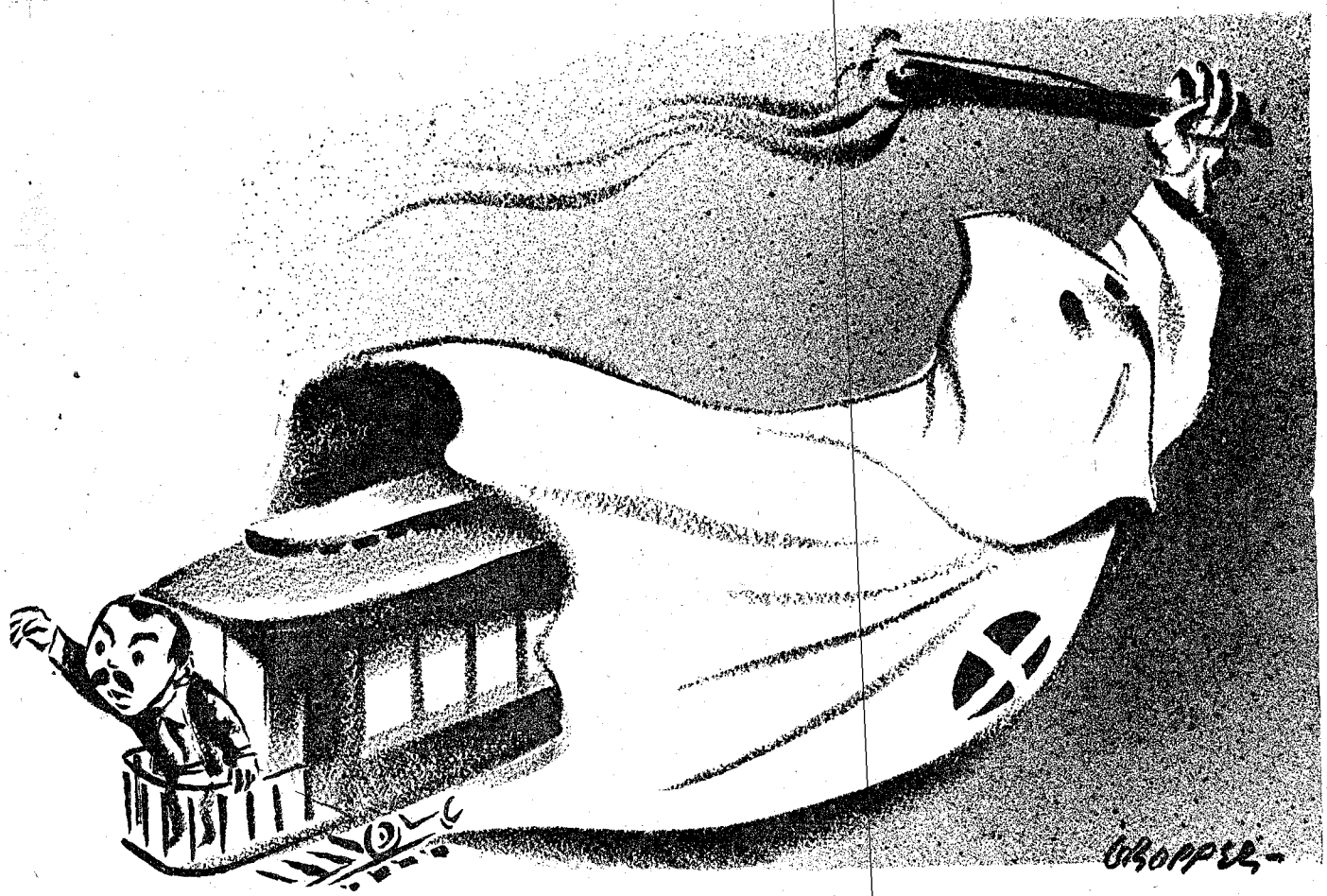

KLANSMEN CRUSADE FOR DEWEY

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Indianapolis.

HOMER CAPEHART, Republican candidate for Senator, assures me that the Ku Klux Klan is not an issue in the campaign in Indiana. The only issue, according to Capehart, is "the Communistic tendencies of the New Deal, and all the un-American activities, the Hillmans, the Browders, the PAC, Wallace, and Harry Hopkins, and Schricker and Jackson." The last two Capehart-designated "Communists" are Gov. Henry Schricker, his Democratic opponent, and Sen. Samuel D. Jackson, Democratic candidate for governor.

I asked him if he would include the Ku Klux Klan among his list of un-American activities. Apparently Mr. Capehart did not like the suggestion. "That isn't an issue in Indiana," he said. Some of my questions and his answers were:

Q. Didn't the fact that Carl H. Mote withdrew for the senatorial nomination at the state GOP convention and threw his support to you more or less identify you in the public mind with such forces? A. That isn't an issue. He doesn't amount to anything.

Q. Were you connected with him? A. I do not care to say anything about it. I hardly know him. I've only seen him a couple of times.

(Mote, president of the Northern Indiana Telephone Co., is described in John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover* as an anti-Semite and close co-worker of prominent fascists, including William Dudley Pelley, Elizabeth Dilling, and Col. E. N. Sanctuary, three of the seditionists now on trial in Washington. A United Press dispatch of August 18 said Gerald L. K. Smith hoped to persuade Mote to run for the US Senate on the America First Party ticket.)

Q. I have been told by a prominent Democratic official here that there is a revival of Klan activity in this campaign, though not under the name of the Klan. A. That's a damned lie. I've been up and down the state. The Klan is not an issue. There's not anything to it.

Q. But you hear it from Republicans, too. A woman in the Women's Division of the state GOP headquarters told me today that the Klan was active under cover. A. Then she didn't know what she was talking about. The only Klan in Indiana is the clan that's going out—c-l-a-n.

Capehart's diffidence in regard to such an organization as the Klan is quite understandable. The Republican candidate for US Senator from Indiana, who manufactures radios, phonographs, and juke boxes, would rather that people forget the fact that he was, to quote the Friends of Democracy, "intimately tied up with the pro-fascists back in

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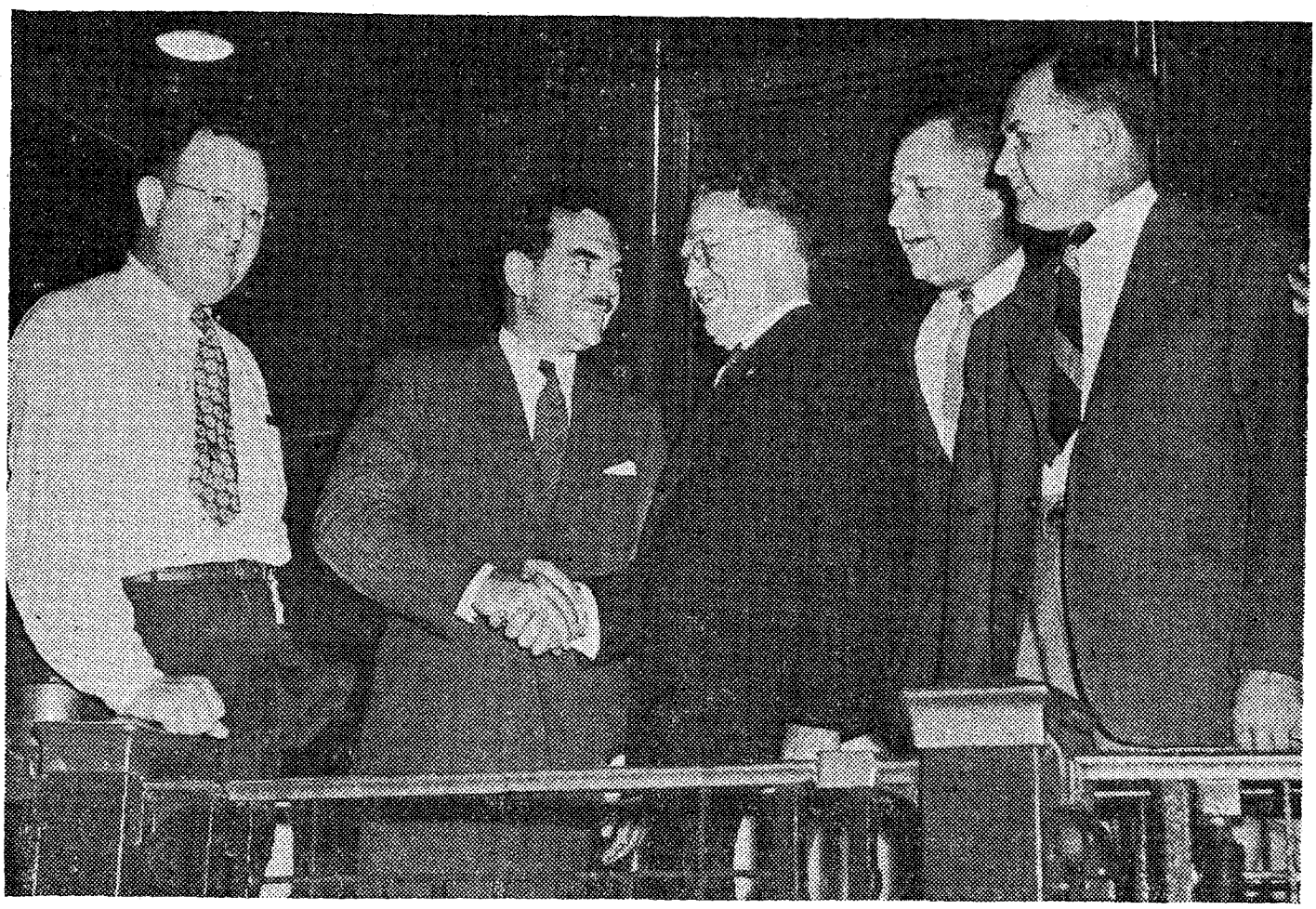

Governor Dewey at Indianapolis returns the cordial welcome of some favorite candidates of Indiana Klansmen: Homer E. Capehart (extreme left), Republican candidate for Senator, and Ralph Gates, Republican candidate for governor. John Lauer, state chairman of the GOP, and Frank Millis, candidate for state treasurer, at right.

1938 and 1939." In 1938 two friends of Capehart, Felix McWhirter and James E. Campbell, both anti-Semitic and the latter particularly active in the fascist front, hit on the idea of trying to get Capehart the Republican nomination for President in 1940. However, the emergence of Gen. George Van Horn Moseley caused Capehart's two pals to lose interest in him, since Moseley seemed a far more glamorous fuehrer. Capehart is quite content to settle in 1944 for a senatorship.

WHAT is the truth about the Ku Klux Klan and its relation to the Republican Party? Are remnants of the Klan in this state which was once their stronghold being sparked to get out the vote for Dewey and Bricker? I have spent two weeks trying to find the answers. It is not merely a question of the Klan as such, but also of other fascist groups working along similar lines, at least one of which is headed by former KKK leaders. Let me present a few of the elements that go to make up the picture.

First, there is Robert W. Lyons of Indianapolis and Washington, D.C., millionaire tax lobbyist for J. C. Penney and other chain stores. Lyons resigned as Republican national committeeman last June when it was revealed that in the twenties he had been state treasurer of the Klan. *But Lyons still is boss of the GOP in Indiana.* It was the delegates he controlled who forced the nomination of Capehart. It was he who maintained Ralph Gates, GOP candidate for governor, as state chairman for years. (Gates has also been accused of former membership in the Klan, but his backers of course have denied it.) And it is Lyons' man, John Lauer, who is the new state chairman.

From what Lyons told me in the course of a three-hour interview I got the clear impression that he had been an adviser to Governor Dewey. (Is this also a function which continues into the present?)

The interview took place in the lobby of the swank Columbia Club, which has on its exterior the town's biggest photos of Dewey and Bricker. Lyons talks well, and leisurely. He talked of his five children, of his father, his youth, of Greek drama and of Hilaire Belloc, who is one of his favorite authors. I couldn't help mentally recalling how popular Belloc's writing is with intellectual fascists. According to *Under Cover*, Belloc's book, *The Jews*, was highly recommended by Seward Collins, whom Carlson describes as "one of the brain trusters of the American fascist movement." About the Klan, however, Lyons didn't care to talk. He did say briefly at one point that he had never been charged with being "anything more than the fiscal agent of the Klan." But he hurried past this.

I was beginning to feel a little frustrated because every time I tried to talk about the issues in the campaign I wound up listening to a beautifully phrased speech on "the moral responsibilities of these years," or a tribute to integrity. But then Lyons told an interesting story. It was off the record, but it revealed unmistakably that he has been for years not only a personal friend of Governor Dewey, active in his gubernatorial campaign when Lyons lived in New York, but had also been an adviser to the Republican standard-bearer.

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Lyons, moreover, acted as a go-between for Dewey and Bricker during the time that Dewey was building up his "integrity" myth by professing to be keeping his word that he was not a candidate for the presidential nomination.

"Newspaper accounts say that you're still the power behind the scenes in the GOP here," I said. "Is that true?" He changed the subject. But when I asked, delicately, "You were the elected head of the party here—I rather got the impression that there must have been politics involved in your being—ah—"

"In my resigning?" he asked crisply. "Well, after they brought up that Klan business, I realized that if I stepped aside there would be no breath of scandal attaching to Governor Dewey. You see, I had told Governor Bricker I could not support him, that he was vacillating, could not make a decision. The Bricker men had gone to a newspaper man here, a Catholic boy, and offered him a sum of money to bring up this Klan business of twenty-five years ago, to smear Dewey with anti-Semitism."

Lyons' motion to instruct the delegates at the state convention for Dewey was tabled. Lyons, whom Maurice Early in the Indianapolis *Star* of June 3 called "the real power in the state convention," pulled a fast one, and at a surprise session the state committee elected him national committeeman, succeeding Ernest M. Morris.

"I called Tom," Lyons went on, alluding to Dewey, "and he said, 'stay in there.' I said, 'Tom, this is bigger than you or I. It may influence the entire nation,' for remember, this was just before the national convention, and if Indiana sent delegates instructed for Bricker, it might have made a difference. I had no personal ambition. And besides, it gave me a chance. I said, all right, if they wanted to caucus all over again, they could, but they would vote for Dewey, too. So I swung them all in line for Dewey. One didn't vote, but the others were unanimous."

As Lyons put on his hat and coat, a pearl gray hat and well-tailored coat, I said I imagined he'd go into politics again some time. "Oh, I might put a man in here or there, but no, I am through with politics," he said. Suave, urbane, the charming personality in the expensively tailored clothes, the man who described himself as "essentially a scholar who because of poverty in youth had to go into the world of action"—and who can't escape from the public's memory of that particular world of action—touched his hat and departed.

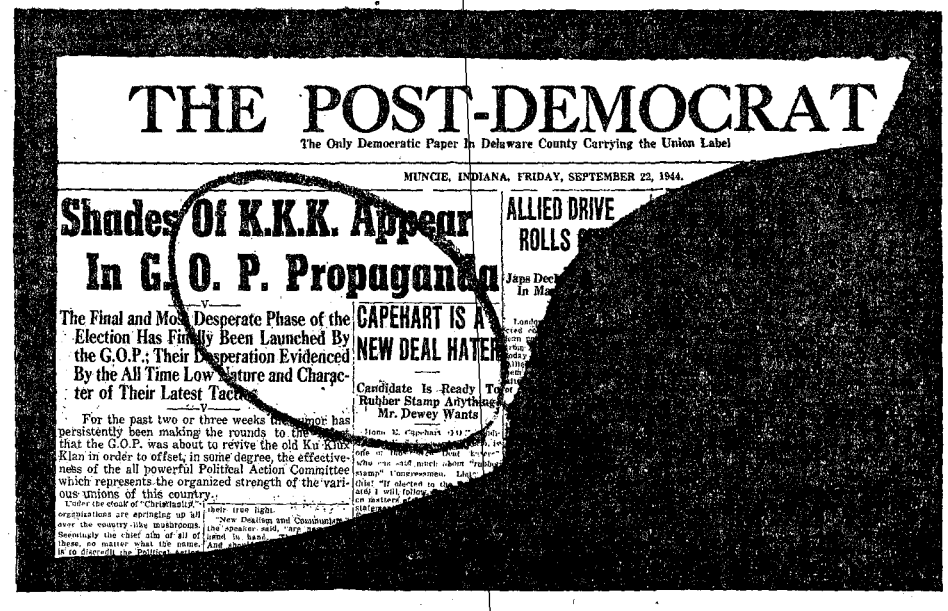
For the less suave, less charming side of the picture, let us go to Muncie, Ind. This is the industrial town which has been made famous as Middletown in the two books by Prof. Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd. Muncie used to be national headquarters for the Northern Ku Klux Klan after the organization split. It is today the center of the race-hatred forces of the state. This is where the fascist weekly, *X-Ray,* is published by Court Asher, who was originally included in the federal sedition indictment, but whose case was later separated from those now being tried. *X-Ray* is sold in the bus station news and bookstand, and the well dressed big bruiser who runs it says sure, he handles *X-Ray,* and what's more, this isn't our war, and the Jews are running the country, and the Chicago *Tribune* is the only decent paper there is. *X-Ray* is violently anti-Semitic and anti-Roosevelt. An ad on the back page of the October 14 issue proclaims: "Bring Our Boys Home Quicker with Dewey and Bricker. Or . . . Get Back on RELIEF with the Commander-in-Chief. VOTE REPUBLICAN." I later saw the original of this ditty, in a Chicago *Tribune* cartoon, in the office of the GOP Women's Division in Indianapolis.

On the night of May 3 a mob of some 400 men attacked the home of Joshua Thompson, a Negro. One of his sons, Joshua, Jr., had been arrested on a charge of attempted rape of a white woman, though there was every indication that it was trumped up. Fiery crosses had been burned prior to the attack. Chief of Police William P. Vaught of Muncie admitted that at least three complaints were received of crosses burning, but dismissed them as the work of "kids." By just looking at the crosses the police could tell that, "and so we didn't investigate."

"I sent my family away," Joshua Thompson said in describing the attack. "They didn't want my boy [his bail had been reduced and he was released, and in Indianapolis]. They wanted to kill me. I said, 'I soon be sixty-two years. This is my house. I'm going to live and die here.' I got my shotgun and I sat in the dark, with my gun across my knees, and waited for them."

Thompson had been told a mob was on the way by his daughter, who worked near the jail and saw the mob arrive there. She had phoned the police but been told they could not give protection to just one family. (The officials denied this.) The old man waited. The mob drove up. There were cars as far as he could see. One man came to the porch, demanded he come out. "He had a brown hood over his head. I told him to take—excuse the expression—that damn thing off. He pulled it down and told me his name." Eventually the old man let him in, accompanied by a policeman. They searched the place. Meanwhile the mob howled. A brick was hurled through a window. I saw the broken pane they said it went through. In the back yard, huddled in a trailer wagon with his shirt off, another Thompson son, James, waited. He told me he saw one man wearing a white hood. The old man said to me, "Police told me it was the CIO. I done know better. I'm a member of the CIO myself."

The local press, strongly Republican,



THE POST-DEMOCRAT

The Only Democratic Paper In Delaware County Carrying the Union Label

MUNCIE, INDIANA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1944.

Shades Of K.K.K. Appear In G. O. P. Propaganda

The Final and Most Desperate Phase of the Election Has Finally Been Launched By the G.O.P.; Their Desperation Evidenced By the All Time Low Nature and Character of Their Latest Tactics

For the past two or three weeks the rumor has persistently been making the rounds to the effect that the G.O.P. was about to revive the old Ku Klux Klan in order to offset, in some degree, the effectiveness of the all powerful Political Action Committee which represents the organized strength of the various unions of this country.

CAPEHART IS A NEW DEAL HATER

Candidate Is Ready To Rubber Stamp Anything Mr. Dewey Wants

ALLIED DRIVE ROLLS

Headlines from the Muncie, Ind., "Post-Democrat," linking the revival of Klan activity with the campaign for Dewey.

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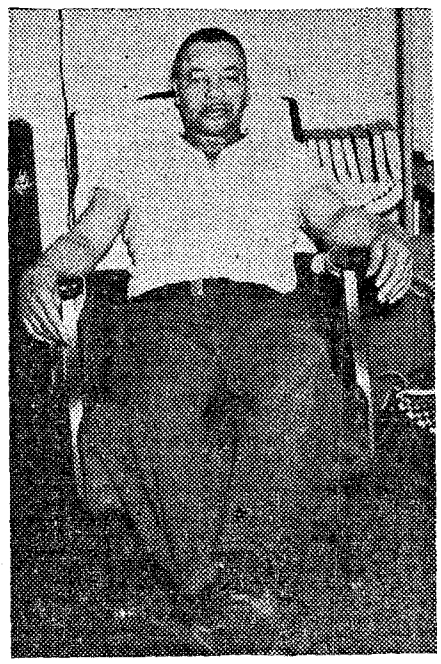
which had run lengthy accounts of every alleged rape of a white woman by a Negro before the primary, played down the mob violence. Only one member of the mob was brought to trial and fined twenty-five dollars for disorderly conduct.

FOR three days I tried without success to see Mayor John Hampton. I reached him by phone after my return to Indianapolis. I said I understood that he had told CIO officials after the mob scene of May 3 that as many as fifty-seven calls in one day had been received by the police claiming a white woman was being raped by a Negro. He said, "Something like that."

"Don't you think that they must have been the results of organized efforts?" he was asked. "No, I don't," he replied. I pointed out that prior to the night of May 3, when the mob assembled at the Field House before going to the jail, two other meetings had been held there, without enough men showing up for their purposes. "That's pure speculation," he snapped. I pointed out that I had found a man who had attended those meetings. The mayor said he knew of no evidence they had been held. A contingent of the state guard was stationed in the Armory directly across from the Field House where the mob assembled. He admitted that, but said he had no authority to call them out. The mob then went to the county jail and a delegation of five was allowed by authorities to go through the jail looking for the alleged rapist.

I found an ex-foreman from Broderick's plant, now in the Navy, who was in the mob. Home on furlough, Paul Reynolds was reached by telephone. I asked him if it was true he had been a member of the mob that night, and he readily admitted it. "And did you tell a Negro worker in the plant the next day that 'I went out to help kill the nigger'?" I asked him. "More or less that," he said. "If the authorities couldn't control things, why, we meant to."

I talked to a big strapping former Tennesseean, Bill Davis, who was repairing a car in the garage back of his home in the 1400 block of West Fourteenth street. He told with a grin how he had gone along with the mob on May 3 "to watch the fun." He had attended two previous meetings at the Field House when not enough turned out. He gave a blood-chilling account, the grin never leaving his face, of the tour through the county jail by the delegation of five and two officials.



Joshua Thompson, Negro, of Muncie, whose son was arrested on a trumped-up rape charge, was threatened by a hooded mob. Told it was the CIO, he remarked that he knew better, that he was a member of the CIO himself.

"I understand Gov. Henry Schricker (Democrat) said he was in favor of a grand jury investigation," I said to Mayor Hampton. "Governor Schricker is running for office (for Senator)," he said, apparently nettled. "We had a grand jury investigation."

The grand jury investigation was kept so quiet that the Thompson family did not learn of it until after the trial of the one man who was arrested. Arnold Banister, secretary of the colored YMCA, said he knew of no Negroes who were called before the grand jury, that it was "a very quiet affair." I had been told the Negroes still lived in terror, that they were arrested while walking down the street, jailed and beaten up and released without being charged with a crime. The mayor, asked about that, said there was no truth in it, that they had been "very careful" in their treatment of Negroes. He was asked about the Klan.

"I know of absolutely no Klan activity around here," he said. "I did hear someone who was supposed to know make the statement that in all of Delaware County there were seventy-nine of the Klan, but that is just hearsay."

JUST what does all this have to do with the elections? I will give the explanations made to me by several Muncie figures. It must be remembered that the chief of police is a Republican. The mayor is a Republican, and was in office as mayor from 1926 to 1930, when the Klan was strong and the police department, according to public officials, consisted largely of Klansmen. Here is what Harry Kleinfelder, head of the city council and a Democrat, had to say about it:

"In the first place Court Asher's *X-Ray* had a lot of articles about these alleged rape cases which stirred people up. I think it was the idea of some people that it would help the Republican ticket in the primaries if an incident occurred and the Negroes could be told it was the fault of the CIO." While the actual mob attack did not take place until the night after the day of the primaries, it was planned for an earlier date.

Another councilman dropped in while I was talking to Kleinfelder—Charles Skinner, a Democrat. He agreed with Kleinfelder's thesis that the Republicans had helped create an explosive situation and used it to their advantage in the primaries. He told of being informed a mob was forming in his neighborhood, Shedtown, and of walking over to try to get them to disperse. "What were you told?" I asked. "That they were hunting a 'nigger,'" he said. Kleinfelder interrupted, "Yes, they were hunting a 'nigger' and they didn't care who." Skinner walked over to where they were, and a rope and a gun were visible. But he saw, a slight distance down the block, a police car parked. He went over to talk to the police and was told, "The only thing that will do any good around here is to hang a 'nigger.'" Skinner refused to tell me the name of the policeman, but I learned from an authoritative source later that it was Eddie Mullen.

Skinner said that a month before the May 3 business these other overt race acts commenced. From others I learned that they knew in advance of the plan for mob violence. Attorney Guy Ogle, candidate for prosecuting attorney on the Democratic ticket, said he met someone on the street two days before May 3 who told him a mob was going to form the next night. That was the plan, he said, but it was postponed a night.

Negro proprietors of taverns and club rooms were visited by police early the evening of May 3 and told to close their places. The owner of a chicken dinner and "set-up" place, where you bring your own liquor, told me he asked them why he should close, and was told that the CIO boys were planning some trouble. "But I'm going to vote for

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Roosevelt just the same," he said. "I know who's planning trouble. I know the Court Ashers in this town."

EXHIBIT C in this case history is the Christian Action Committee. This operates in Muncie too. It is a new organization loaded with old KKK rabble-rousers. Its state president is Rev. J. Walter Gibson, who at one time gave up a Muncie pastorate to speak for the Ku Klux Klan. Its secretary is Rev. Henry C. Lycan, who tells people who call him up that Clarence Benadum, lawyer and prominent Republican, will take contributions for the outfit. Benadum owns the building in which the county CIO Industrial Union Council has its headquarters. His own office is in the same building.

Benadum's interest in both the Christian Action Committee and the Republican Party is evidently more than cursory. His wife, Mary, who used to speak extensively for the Klan, is now vice-chairman of the Republican Party in the 10th Congressional District. She has been traveling over the state speaking for Dewey and Bricker. The Women's Division of the GOP in Indianapolis confirmed the fact that she is one of their most active speakers.

I went up the battered stairs of the Benadum building, past a room where two secretaries and Benadum were talking to clients, into a larger room where other clients waited. After a time I went into the first room, asked to speak to Mr. Benadum, and was shown by him into a smaller room. He waved me to a chair with a flourish, and asked me to wait. I noticed a pile of Court Asher's latest issue on his desk, and a book on the Masters of the Far East. I grew restive and went out to say I'd be back later. No, he insisted courteously, he would be with me soon. Eventually he entered, closed the door and bent toward me with inquiring eyes. I had been out to his home in the exclusive Riverside Drive district, but had found no one home. I told him who I was, and that I was sorry to have missed his wife. Yes, she was away speaking somewhere, he said.

I was interested in the Christian Action Committee, and wondered if he was connected with it, I explained. "Well, I'm not disconnected with it," he said, eyeing me shrewdly.

"Reverend Lycan has told people who called that they could make contributions to you, I understand. I called, asking for him, and his wife told me to see Lawyer Benadum."

"Well, he's an itinerant preacher who tends to some of the affairs of the committee. He doesn't know what to tell people, so he tells 'em that. But we haven't had any contributions. We don't need any. We have all the money we want."

"Is that so? Where do you get it?"

"That's no one's business," he retorted, gazing at me through his nose-glasses. I said I thought it was. "Well, I didn't mean to give you a harsh answer. What I mean to say is, we don't need any money."

"On account of your having some of Frank Gannett's money?" I smiled. He eyed me narrowly, then said slowly: "I don't know what *your* folks have gotten from Gannett, but I can tell you that he hasn't set in on any of our meetings."

I laughed. He laughed too. "I haven't had any correspondence with him," he said. "I just know him."

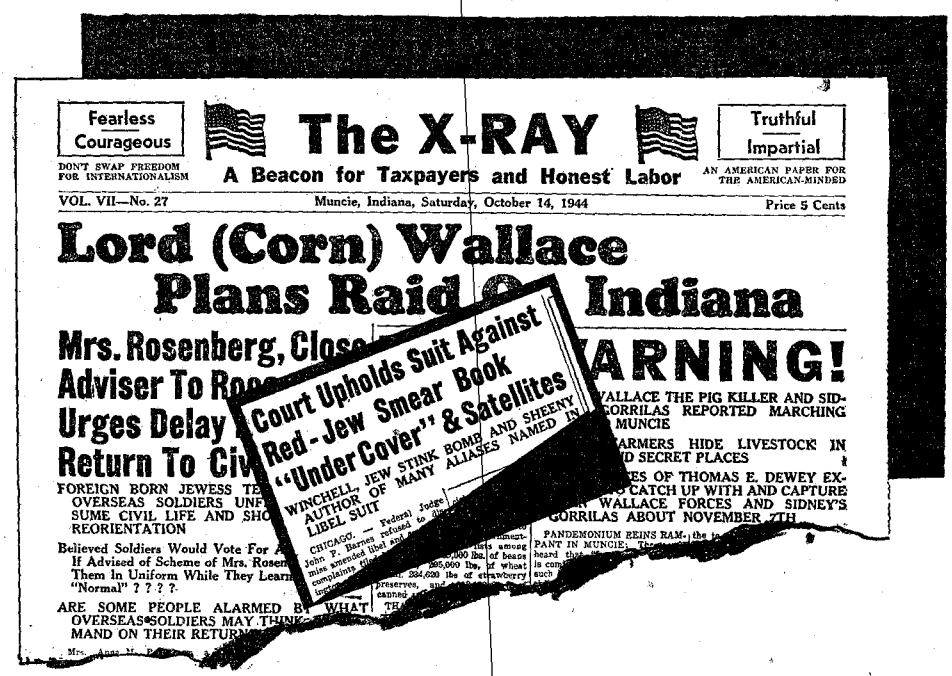
I HAD heard from Frank Bayless, United Auto Workers-Political Action Committee representative and member of the Warner-Gear local, that Lycan had told him on the phone, when he called under a pseudonym, that this wasn't just a local movement, that they were backed by a national publisher, Mr. Frank Gannett. The vast sums being spent by Gannett's Roosevelt-smearing Committee for Constitutional Government are now being investigated by the House Campaign Expenditures Committee.

"Yes, I'm a Christian," Benadum said. "Now let's see. The NEW MASSES is a Communist publication, isn't it?"

"There are both Communists and non-Communists writing for NEW MASSES," I replied. "I happen to be a Communist."

"Well, well," he said. Just about that time someone left the other room. He shouted out, "Is Robe still there?" But he was gone. Yes, it was Carl Robe White. I had got a copy of *A Message to the People*, a pamphlet by White, former Assistant Secretary of Labor to the late President Harding. Carl helped them in some of their work, Benadum said easily. The last words in the pamphlet I had noted were in line with the speeches of Reverend Mr. Gibson, head of the Christian Action Committee. In the pamphlet they are in bold caps: "COMMUNISM OR CHRISTIANITY? GOD OR MAMMON? AMERICANISM OR REGIMENTATION? FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?" White was an elderly man who last year lived in the home of the Werts family, who own the Werts Tabernacle, the "Great Soul Saving Center" where Gibson preaches twice a week.

Although I had missed this curious pro-fascist figure who had once served under Harding I found that if you want to know that side of Muncie, all you need to do is hang around Lawyer Benadum's office long enough. We had just got started on the purpose of the Christian Action Committee, which he made easy by saying it was organized "to offset PAC," to elect a Dewey-


Fearless Courageous

DONT SWAP FREEDOM FOR INTERNATIONALISM

The X-RAY

A Beacon for Taxpayers and Honest Labor

Truthful Impartial

AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR THE AMERICAN-MINDED

VOL. VII—No. 27 Muncie, Indiana, Saturday, October 14, 1944 Price 5 Cents

Lord (Corn) Wallace Plans Raid On Indiana

Mrs. Rosenberg, Close Adviser To Roo... Urges Delay ... Return To Civ...

Court Upholds Suit Against Red-Jew Smear Book "Under Cover" & Satellites

WINCHELL, JEW STINK BOMB AND SHEENY AUTHOR OF MANY ALIASES NAMED IN LIBEL SUIT

...ARNING!

...WALLACE THE PIG KILLER AND SIDGORILLAS REPORTED MARCHING MUNCIE

...ARMERS HIDE LIVESTOCK IN ...D SECRET PLACES

...ES OF THOMAS E. DEWEY EX... CATCH UP WITH AND CAPTURE ... WALLACE FORCES AND SIDNEY'S GORRILAS ABOUT NOVEMBER 7TH

FOREIGN BORN JEWESS TE... OVERSEAS SOLDIERS UNF... SUME CIVIL LIFE AND SHO... REORIENTATION

Believed Soldiers Would Vote For A... If Advised of Scheme of Mrs. Rosen... Them In Uniform While They Learn... "Normal" ? ? ? ?.

ARE SOME PEOPLE ALARMED BY WHAT TH... OVERSEAS SOLDIERS MAY THINK... MAND ON THEIR RETUR...

PANDEMONIUM REINS RAM... PANT IN MUNCIE!...

This is a sample of the anti-Semitic filth spread by "X-Ray," fascist weekly newspaper published at Muncie, Ind., by Court Asher, originally indicted with the twenty-nine seditionists. Note the plug for Dewey in the right-hand column.

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Bricker ticket and make the district safe for Rep. Raymond S. Springer, when Benadum suggested we go into the larger room, which was then vacant. He had told me they "got a stir over the nation" when the wire services carried Gibson's talk, and that while they were the No. 1 CAC, others had organized in Pittsburgh and Chicago. "Communism is just around the corner," he said. "I don't see how our capitalist world can go on like this."

"Because you were a Klan organizer, I believe, and your wife a Klan speaker, and the Rev. Mr. Gibson a Klan organizer, people seem to identify your committee with the Klan," I said.

"Oh, no, we wear no insignia, no Klan regalia," he said. "I was an attorney for the Klan, not an organizer. And no one's barred from the committee because of race, color or creed. We don't have memberships, but anyone can come to our meetings."

CONVERSATION was beginning to lag when a heavyset man sauntered in, turned to stare at me from under his beetle brows, and continued, as he walked across the room with exaggerated slow strides, to dart furtive glances over his shoulder.

"Hello, Court," said Lawyer Benadum, and then returned to a phone he was answering. Court Asher looked like a melodramatic version of a sleuth. If his clothes had been better tailored and his manner smoother he could have posed as a Chicago mobster. But the Muncie people I spoke to who've known Asher for years, responsible lawyers and union officials and men in public life, told me that even when Asher was a "detective" for D. C. Stephenson, former Grand Dragon of the KKK of Indiana, who is serving time in Michigan City for murder, or when he was a prosperous bootlegger, his clothes looked the same.

Carlson, writing in *Under Cover*, mentions Asher's apparent affluence, his vaunted friendship with George Ball, an official of the famous glass jar manufacturing firm at Muncie, his "handsome, gray Packard sedan," the home that he owned. "I was convinced that big business interests must be promoting him and his defeatist sheet," Carlson writes. "Oscar Shilvey, Democratic county chairman, told me Benadum speaks for the Ball interests, 'who are labor haters despite all the money they give to endow schools and hospitals.' "

I had been told that Asher had been a police reporter on the Chicago *Tribune*, and, though I usually don't admit it unless I have to, I, too, had worked on the *Tribune* for some ten years and more.

The PAC boys, who had regaled me with accounts of the notorious beer dive with various accessories Asher once ran in town, had told me that he would talk his head off if anyone asked him about his days on the *Tribune*, of which he was most proud. So, while Benadum talked, I said breathlessly, "Oh, are you Mr. Asher? I think we're fellow alumni of the *Tribune*."

He warmed to me at once. We reminisced, and he told me the late Bob Lee had taught him all he knew about newspaper work. When Lawyer Benadum finished his call and feebly tried to wave at us and interrupt, we went right on talking. But Asher could not long stay off his favorite topic, and it seemed to fit right in. "The Jews," he cried, flinging out an arm, his lips hanging loose as he rolled the word over in his mouth and spat it out again. "The Jews, the God damn Jews. I hate every damn one of them. I never met a Jew yet who wasn't a Communist."

He stopped, waiting for me to chime in. He was surprised apparently at my expression. Benadum sat back enjoying it. Then he said, "Don't you know, Court, this girl's a Communist. She works for NEW MASSES."

"What?" Asher shouted. "You're from the *Tribune* and you work for NEW MASSES? Why, we're poles apart."

"Yes," I said, "but you're not so far from the *Tribune*."

"Who, me? Hell, no," he said, embracing himself as he went on. "Me and the *Tribune* have our arms around each other."

"Court, if you had to choose between them," asked Benadum mildly, "which would you take, fascism or Communism?"

"Hell, I'd take fascism."

"I read your new issue," said Benadum. I said I'd read it, too. It was full of attacks on Jews.

"I just mailed out 50,000 of them." I think he said he mailed them to Pennsylvania and Michigan. I'd heard 10,000 were sent each week to Flint, Mich. "That must mean money," I said.

"Yea," he said, "you're looking at a man that's making plenty of money."

Benadum snorted with laughter. After Asher had gone, Benadum told me how he defended him, how he got a separation from the trial of the seditionists in Washington, how the government issued a new indictment and dropped many of the charges. His case is pending. "Court's off on this Jew business," he said. "I try to tell him. Now some of my best friends are Jews. I stand here and see them pass on the sidewalk below, and I feel sorry for them—sorry because they can't help what's happening in Washington.

"The only thing I feel is that it's wrong for any one class or group to be in power." I asked whether he meant that any one group was in control of the government. "Why, of course," he said, and he grew more agitated than he had been at any time since I'd been there, "the Jews have the government by the throat. Look at the bureaus—look at Morgenthau. They're all in the control of Jews."

AT FIRST Benadum denied he'd spoken recently at an America First Party meeting, but when I said I'd seen an account of it (in the *Post-Democrat*, weekly liberal paper in Muncie run by "Ma" Lena Dale, widow of George Dale, who fought the Klan, had his windows shot out by Klansmen, refused to submit to their terrorism), he said: "I just gave a few words of greetings." Court Asher was among the speakers. Gerald L. K. Smith, presidential candidate of the America First Party, was a speaker, and Harry A. Romer, candidate for Vice President. The latter is an

(*Continued on page 30*)

THE X-RAY
The X-Ray "Resolutes"
RESOLUTION:
WHEREAS, Court Asher's publication: The X-Ray, circulates thruout Indiana, and in States from coast to coast and border to border telling people the TRUTH and exposing Red rat Communists and foreign born Jew labor racketeer leaders such as Sidney Hillman, and,
WHEREAS, despite the fact that Court Asher was indicted
Washington, D. C., on a FRAMED indictment promoted
munists and Jew gangs, The X-
10/14/44
IMPORTANT!
For Real Facts Read
Westbrook Pegler's
Column Each Day in The Muncie Evening Press and Listen to Fulton Lewis, Jr., News Broadcast at 6 P. M.
Bring Our Boys Home Quicker
with
DEWEY and BRICKER
VOTE REPUBLICAN
OR . . . Get Back on RELIEF
With the Commander-in-Chief!

Birds-of-a-Feather exhibit: Samples from the last page of the October 14, 1944 issue of Court Asher's "X-Ray."

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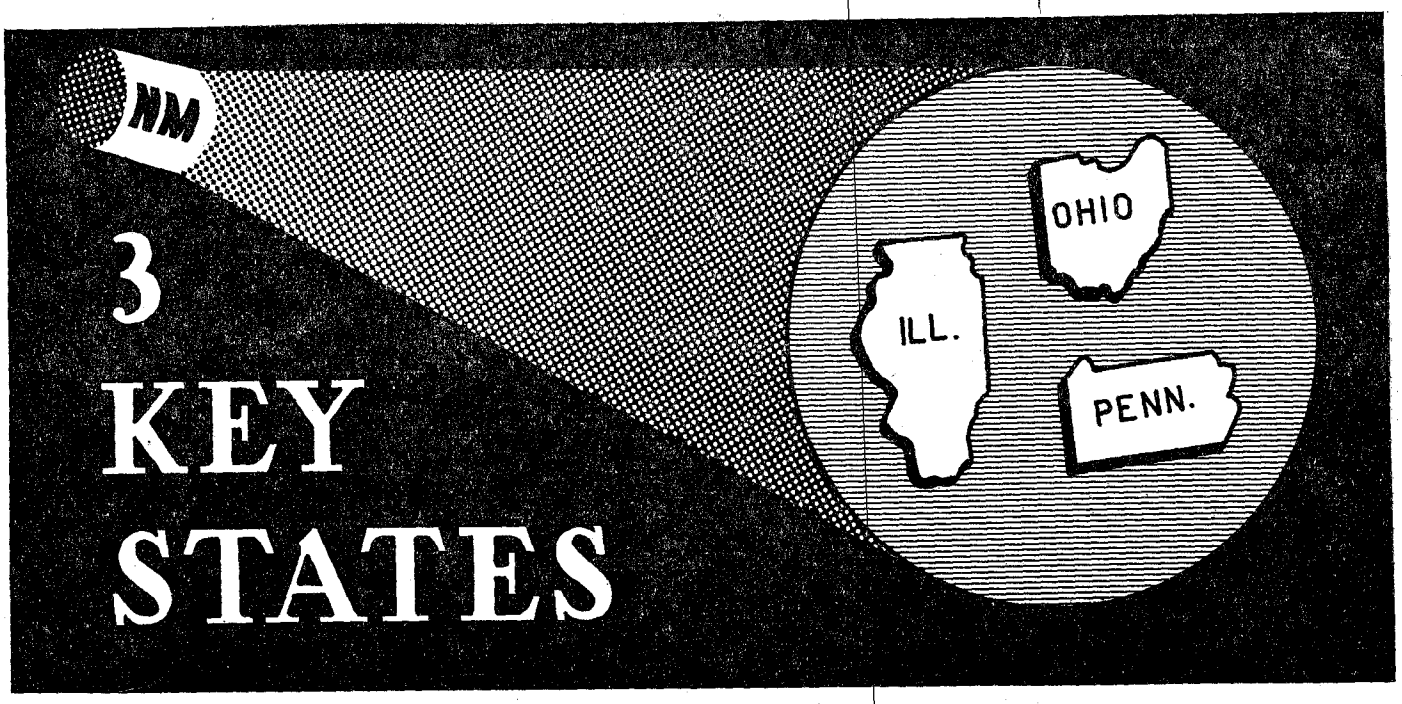

ILLINOIS: GOP JITTERS

By CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

Chicago.

DESPITE Governor Green's recent optimistic assertion that Illinois and "every state in the great Middle Western breadbasket of America" will go for Dewey, the Dewey-McCormick people here have the jitters. Recent developments show that the trend is runing in favor of the Commander-in-Chief and the pro-administration candidate.

In Cook County, Dewey's hopes for a low registration were dashed by a patriotic citizenry that put a probable total of 2,400,000 names on the books. Spurred by labor's energetic work and that of the Democratic Party, Independent Voters of Illinois and other nonpartisan groups, more persons will be eligible to vote in November than ever in Cook County history.

Political observers had agreed that a large registration was imperative to put Illinois in the Roosevelt column. FDR carried the state by only 95,964 in 1940. The critical registration figure had been put at around 2,000,000 in Cook County, as the figure which would yield a sufficiently large win-the-war majority to counterbalance Republican majorities in the traditionally Republican downstate counties.

However, the Republican machine has succeeded in disfranchising the majority in the services. To the 400,000 GI's from Cook County, it is estimated 150,000 ballots have been sent, despite the McCormick-Green-Brooks machine. So far 54,946 have voted.

The outstanding feature of the campaign is the unparalleled growth of nonpartisan unity around FDR on the issues of peace, jobs, and prosperity. A host of organizations have contributed to the development—the Democratic Party, Independent Voters of Illinois, the Communist Political Association, all sections of labor, American Youth for Democracy, Negro People's Assembly, Midwest Committee of Fraternalists, committees of Republicans supporting Democratic candidates, the Chicago *Sun*, Chicago *Times*, Chicago *Defender*, and so on. The swinging into action of a large independent vote and the shifts in downstate sentiment toward the Commander-in-Chief are specific achievements of the dynamic work of the national unity bloc.

Illinois' Democratic Party has demonstrated that it places the election issues of 1944 above narrow partisanship. It has presented leading candidates—in many cases persons with whom there have been differences in the past, as in the case of Courtney—who cannot be tagged with the label of the Kelly machine. This has been a strong positive factor in bridging the gap between downstate Illinois and Cook County. The Democratic Party has also patched up quarrels and conflicts within the organization in the interests of unity, particularly downstate.

From the very beginning the Democratic Party's policy has been to wage the campaign on principle—"what is good for winning the war," as Mayor Kelly, Courtney, Lucas, and Mrs. Douglas have joined in declaring.

THE attempts of Governor Green and his Chicago *Tribune*-promoted candidates to befuddle the issues through Red-baiting have been powerfully repulsed by Lucas and Courtney, for example. Lucas, speaking before an overflow crowd at Vandalia, was warmly applauded when he declared:

"If we are to believe Governor Green, he'd have us seeing a Communist behind every tree. The attacks against Communism today are really an attack upon Russia. . . . I say that a nation like Russia which took such a terrific beating at the hands of the Nazis, and has come back as she has after sacrificing millions of her sons, has something."

On the Republican side there is the fact that Col. Robert R. McCormick and his defeatist policies dominate the Republican Party in Illinois. The McCormick-Green-Brooks machine, one of the most tightly-knit and corrupt groups in the history of Illinois, runs it. Gath-

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ered around this machine are the most reactionary, defeatist, and subversive groups—We the Mothers, the Gentile League of America, America Firsters, Gerald L. K. Smith followers, and so on.

The major candidates of this party fully represent this set-up. There is Governor Green (seeking reelection against Courtney) whose main contribution to the campaign has been Red-baiting. There is Richard J. Lyons (running for the Senate against Lucas) who was an active speaker for America First, whose record in the State Assembly is notable only because of twenty-two votes against the interests of labor, and who has now taken up the Polish problem as a campaign "issue."

Then there is Representative-at-Large Stephen A. Day (running against Mrs. Douglas) who is nationally notorious as an associate of the Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck, and who represents the most rabid defeatist and fascist elements in the Republican Party of Illinois. To this galaxy there can be added a long list of other stellar lights among the nationally known defeatists —like Rep. Jessie Sumner, Representative Church, and Representative Busbey. It is no surprise to learn, therefore, that the nonpartisan campaign of the Democratic Party and labor is making inroads into the traditionally Republican vote.

The political commentator of the Chicago *Sun* reported on October 13 that "Republican hopes of unprecedented majorities for Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in traditionally downstate GOP areas are diminishing" and that there is a perceptible swing to FDR. He pointed to Lyons and Day as the weakest of the Republican candidates.

Plenty of evidence supports this point of view. The case of Oakley Adkins, a farmer and lifelong Republican who is taking an active part in the "Republicans for Lucas League," is typical. Adkins has declared that Republicans in the Havana area "would vote for Scott [Lucas] because of his determined stand on world cooperation."

This Republicans for Lucas League was organized when Lyons started his downstate campaign, and Republicans decided they could not stomach the defeatist platform of this *Tribune* candidate. Headed by Carl P. Slane, publisher of the Peoria *Journal-Transcript*, the League reaches into sixteen congressional districts in the state.

Among the twenty other prominent Republicans in the League are George W. Barrett of Peoria; F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the *Pekin Times;* Fred Young of the Bloomington *Pantagraph;* Karl Bell, Rochester banker; E. E. Staley, Decatur manufacturer; and Otto Beich, Bloomington manufacturer.

Eugene Karlin

Prominent Republican women downstate are supporting the candidacy of Mrs. Douglas, together with independents. Leader of this group is Mrs. George Thomas Palmer, who served as state chairwoman in the drive for Landon, and who has long been prominent in Republican circles.

THAT these sentiments represent widespread sentiment is testified to by polls taken downstate which show a shift away from the GOP candidates on the basis of issues.

A poll in Knox County, one of the Republican downstate strongholds, a month ago showed thirty-seven percent of the vote for President Roosevelt. Now it shows forty-eight percent for the Commander-in-Chief, while Lucas, who polled forty percent before, has advanced to fifty-two percent.

Another county from which heavy downstate Republican majorities come, Winnebago, gave FDR twenty-nine percent a month ago and forty-one percent now. Lucas climbed four points, to forty-four percent. The over-all downstate average of the poll showed forty-six percent for President Roosevelt and forty-seven percent for Lucas.

Furthermore, talk by Republican Chairman Herbert Brownell, Jr., of a "Democratic revolt" misses the mark by far in Illinois. In St. Clair and Madison counties, which cast the heaviest vote in Illinois outside of Cook County, political leaders expect to equal 1936 pluralities for FDR. Old wounds have been healed; the Democratic Party has been united.

Concentrating on community work in several critical districts, mainly in Cook County, the Independent Voters of Illinois have been successful in mobilizing thousands of people who never did election work, and some who have never voted. The IVI has gone into middle class, professional, and white collar workers' homes to bring out whole families, including housewives, into the stream of election activity. Its yeoman work may be decisive in areas where marginal votes decided the results in the last election.

While the camp of national unity has attracted the independent vote, the Republican Party has been forced to work through regular ward organizations and old standby organizations. The Republican candidates have been unable to attract independent voters in organized units. Such supporting groups as the Businessmen's Committee are small groupings without broad appeal operated by Republicans.

In many cases such organizations are a false front behind which the most defeatist and fascist elements are cooperating with the Republican Party in the spirit of America First when it threatened "We will meet at the polls!" just before Pearl Harbor. Heading the $50,000 campaign of the Businessmen's Committee, for example, are Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward and R. Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats, both old America Firsters.

WHAT about labor? Here we have perhaps the prime example of the mobilization of masses on a nonpartisan basis behind the Commander-in-Chief. Among workers all political tendencies and alignments exist, yet in this campaign it is possible to say that labor in Illinois is practically 100 percent for FDR and the Roosevelt slate. Governor Green has been able to get together a labor committee numbering some 160, but on it there is not one leading trade unionist.

Former Rep. Raymond McKeough, in charge of this region of PAC, estimated that more than 1,000,000 pieces of literature were distributed. The six major unions—auto, steel, farm equipment, electrical, packing, clothing—had a complete ward and precinct set-up of, in many cases, as many as five and six hundred workers organized on a ward and precinct basis. At the present time thirty ward headquarters are operating.

PAC has also swung into effective action downstate, and headquarters have been opened in a number of key towns. In the Quad-Cities, a highly industrial-

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ized community, the CIO brought out a 100 percent registration in some large plants; in Peoria, at the huge Caterpillar plant, workers are 100 percent registered.

A history-making event was the united endorsement of FDR and Truman by the sixty-second convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor. Previous to the convention, a committee for FDR and Truman of IFL leaders had already been in the field. To the convention it presented a resolution calling for endorsement of FDR signed by 287 IFL leaders throughout the state. In addition, the convention declared it could not support Stephen A. Day, who had been endorsed by President Green of the AFL.

Indicative of the broad swing within IFL circles to positive political action behind FDR is the stand taken by the Chicago Teamsters Joint Council No. 25. Two years ago this council voted to have nothing to do with politics and went on record against any political endorsement. But at a special meeting of the council in September called for this purpose, 400 delegates rescinded the previous decision and endorsed FDR and Truman.

The sentiments of labor downstate, mobilized by the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods, can be epitomized in the remark made by a member of the Teamsters' Union in Danville.

"We are going to give Chicago a hand to carry Illinois for FDR. But to do this job right the patriotic people of the 18th Congressional district must also make sure Jessie Sumner doesn't get back to Congress."

The United Mineworkers is a big political factor in the 16th, 18th, 21st, 24th, and 25th Congressional districts. In the 18th, some leaders of the Mineworkers are working with the rest of labor for the Commander-in-Chief. The tightknit organization built by Lewis has suffered many important defections and the struggle over autonomy has caused many miners to say they will not follow Lewis in politics. Most significant is the decision of Ray Edmundson, leader of the autonomy movement in the UMW, to support FDR. Edmundson said Dewey's election would "immediately beset labor with a witch-hunt unparalleled in our union."

It is necessary to touch on three more developments, even briefly, because of their importance: the Negro vote, women's vote, and the Polish vote.

From all evidence it appears that a sharp turn has occurred in the Negro vote, which is large and important. The *Fortune* poll has shown that seventy percent of the Negroes in Chicago and New York are for FDR. This sentiment has been backed up by a great registration in Chicago, according to the Chicago office of the Negro People's Assembly.

An outstanding feature of the election drive has been the mobilization of Negro women. Delores Pinta, political action director of the Farm Equipment Workers in the lake district, reports that Negro women have been among her most active workers. Beatrice Huff, a Negro committeewoman of the 5th Ward, for example, picked her own crew of fifteen, mostly women, and succeeded in canvassing 600 people. Victoria Kramer, political action director for District 1 of the Packinghouse Workers, also reports that many Negro women are active in political action work. She cited as typical the case of several Negro women who worked for Representative Busbey in the last campaign and who are now working for FDR. Labor and the IVI has done good work bringing out the white women.

Finally, in regard to the Polish vote: Only a few days ago by unanimous agreement of the board of directors the Polish Roman Catholic Union, which has 150,000 members, expressed full support of President Roosevelt's "judgment and decisions" regarding Poland's future. This action represents a setback for the GOP fishers in these troubled waters. Nonetheless, the situation *is* critical. The Polish newspapers in Chicago carry the most vicious, unprincipled, and defeatist attacks upon the President's foreign policy, upon the United Nations, upon Churchill and Stalin. They have not dared to endorse Dewey, because the Democratic Party is still the most powerful single political force among the Poles, but they have embraced his divisionist program.

Only a few weeks ago Hoover, passing through Chicago, was met by Colonel McCormick and then taken for a tour of the American-Polish community where he met Polish leaders. Lyons has been making much of the Polish issue. The GOP has twenty radio programs in Polish on the air, while the Democrats have only two. Among the candidates whom the Businessmen's Committee is raising $50,000 to defeat is William J. Link, of the 7th congressional district, in which the bulk of the Polish population lives. This district was carried in the last election by 2,000.

Fortunately, progressive American-Polish leaders, particularly labor leaders, have finally awakened to the situation and are launching a big campaign.

In general, however, the situation throughout the state is enough to give the Deweyites the jitters. With the continuance and extension of the dynamic campaign under way and without any slackening of effort, progressives can take heart.

KEY TO THE KEYSTONE STATE

By WALTER LOWENFELS

Philadelphia.

Joe Pew, the Sunoco magnate and Republican boss, made his maiden political speech the other day. Usually this heavy, owlish multi-millionaire lets his money talk for him. (The Baltimore *Sun*, which likes Mr. Pew's candidate, estimated that the Pew family has sunk thirteen million in the fight against Roosevelt the past twelve years.) True, at the Chicago convention, after Dewey was nominated, Pew did take the floor. But all he said was: "Mr. Chairman, I move we adjourn."

Mr. Pew's speech to political workers in Philadelphia was a trifle more extended, but equally to the point. Since Dewey's victory will make this dynamo of Roosevelt hate an arbiter of national and international fate, he is worth listening to for a moment. He was pleading with a meeting of party workers to get out the vote in Philadelphia, and not be afraid of "the magic name of Roosevelt." "The glamor attached to the title of Commander in Chief," he said, "disappeared with Pearl Harbor."

So this master politician sums up in a sentence the whole Dewey campaign against the war—Roosevelt got us into it—"lied us into it," as Mrs. Luce puts

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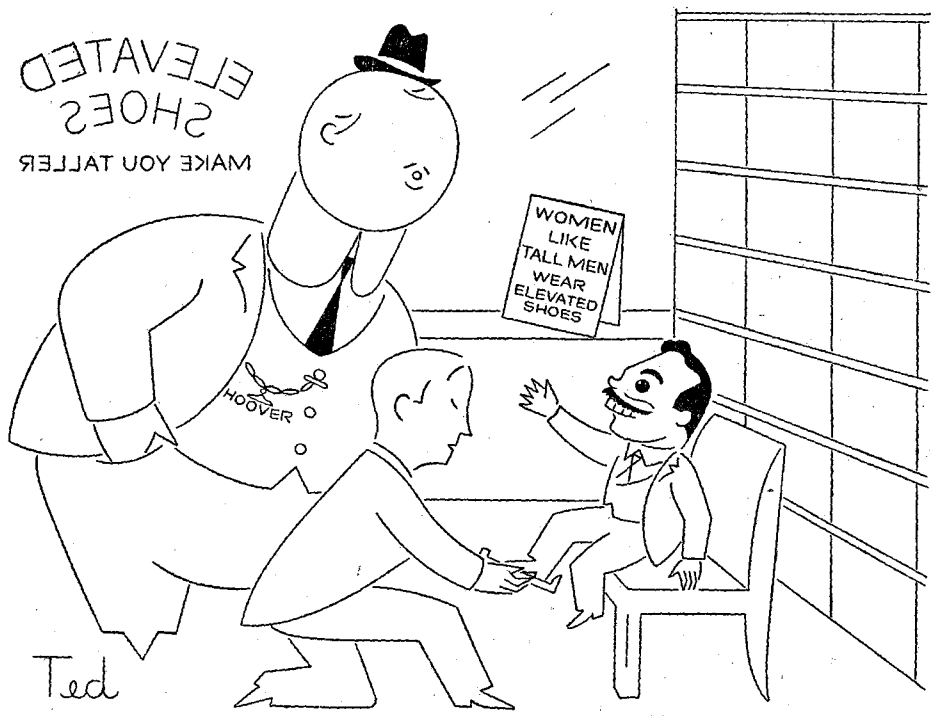
it—torpedoed our ships on Dec. 7, 1941, and, as Mr. Pew added "has given us twelve years of treachery, dishonor, and deceit." As for the whispering campaign about the President's age and health—Mr. Pew doesn't beat around the bush. He has the President buried already: "He's not campaigning in the ordinary political sense. He is campaigning to make Senator Harry S. Truman the President of the United States."

Don't underestimate Mr. Pew. While the President has carried Pennsylvania the last two elections, the Pew machine has elected two governors in off years, and kept the city administration in Philadelphia. That means his organization has the campaigning power of the Commonwealth and its biggest city behind it, as well as many of the smaller towns. Philadelphia's City Hall, for example, is plastered with Dewey posters, and serves as an active campaign center, despite laws against it.



"But Mrs. Dilling loves me as I am."

THE notorious "20,000" payroll drones depend on one thing for their jobs—getting out the vote. "This is an organizational fight," one of Mr. Pew's leaders told me. "I am more confident than in 1940. Then it was Willkie, Willkie, Willkie. This time it's Dewey and the Republican Party. Our boys are in it 100 percent."

Mr. Pew, as is well known, was a big factor in the successful "stop Willkie" drive last spring. Later, he helped in trying to take the Texas Democrats out of the Roosevelt camp.

Mr. Pew and his cohorts can be beaten, but not with our hands behind our backs. The CIO, after a seven-year battle, defeated the company union at the Pew family's big Sun Shipyard, down in Chester, in June, 1943. But the Pews are still trying to stage a company union come-back.

While the CIO was organizing his shipyard, Mr. Pew was out organizing the farmers. The two big farm papers the Pews control, the *Farm Journal* and *The Pathfinder*, reach millions in the rural areas of the country with the slogan: "Keep Hillman out of the White House."

I have visited a number of Mr. Pew's campaign centers. These include the eighteen offices of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Casualty Insurance Company, the biggest in the state, which his political partner, eighty-one-year-old Joe Grundy, former US Senator, controls. I weighed the different leaflets and folders gathered from one headquarters. They tipped the scales at half a pound. And after glancing through them, I have no doubt some confusion may develop at the polls when voters do not find Hillman and Browder heading the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Pew is the only big business executive of the "hate Roosevelt" group who doesn't operate through or behind a political machine. He actually runs the business in person. A careful examination of the Sun Oil Company gives a clue to the Pew family's extraordinary devotion to the unrestricted and uncontrolled competition which they mean by "free enterprise." The Pew Company gets its oil into Chester and out to Sunoco stations at a lower cost than any of its competitors. It builds its own tankers, and it has an advantageous pipe line cost. It grew stronger during the depression, when other companies were hard hit. This history is intimately tied up with the deep check-book interest the GOP boss has in Hooverism, and his survival-of-the-fittest theories.

WILL PEW and his organization carry the Keystone state for Dewey? The question is bothering political leaders throughout the country. Practically every computation of electoral votes relating to the Republican candidates's chances for victory indicates that in order to win he must carry Pennsylvania. Even the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Dewey's Pennsylvania mouthpiece openly concedes this. Democratic Presidents have been elected without Pennsylvania, as Elmer Roper, conductor of the *Fortune* Poll, points out, but since 1824, no Republican president has gained office without Pennsylvania's electoral votes.

There is general bipartisan agreement that Roosevelt might win, as he did in 1932, without Pennsylvania, but Dewey can't. Thus the countryside is jammed with pollsters and dopesters taking their samplings in the belief that this year "as goes Pennsylvania, so goes the nation." At this writing, they variously estimate Pennsylvania as teetering between fifty-fifty and 53.2 per cent for FDR.

I have made my own state-wide survey, from the Delaware to the Monongehela. I have talked with businessmen, political leaders of all parties, AFL and CIO officials, civic and social lights, teachers, miners, stenographers and steelworkers. I even leaned over backwards to be fair to Mr. Dewey. In the anthracite hard coal area around Wilkes Barre, I even spent a day searching out a Dewey supporter among rank and file miners.

My conclusions run like this: If elections were registered by telepathy rather than by ballots, we could stop this story right here and hand it to Roosevelt. It was clear that Pennsylvanians have been doing more thinking the past few months than they have since the armies of the southern slaveholders were threatening the state capitol, before the battle of Gettysburg in 1863.

Obviously, thinking favors Roosevelt, whereas prejudice, double talk, mumbo

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jumbo, and bigotry are the dragons who guard Mr. Dewey. Roosevelt has already won the analysis. The only obstacle remaining is the votes. And there's no question that the vote-getting organization of the GOP is tops.

One Democratic candidate for Congress told me: "What do we need an organization for? The Great White Father is running. Roosevelt is our organization."

The Dewey strategy is simple: Short-circuit the thinking that is going on about victory and peace by never saying the same thing twice: Have Mrs. Luce serve a witches' brew of Red-baiting, seasoned with the blood of GI Joe. Have the organization get the Republican vote out on election day.

ELIGIBLE voters in Pennsylvania have set a record high this year. While statewide civilian registration is estimated at about seven percent under the previous high of 1940, unduplicated soliders ballots, out of the 622,000 mailed out, lift the total who can vote to approximately 5,072,000. That's 68,000 more than the 1940 registration.

In 1940 4,078,000 voted, and Roosevelt carried the state by 282,000. How many will vote in 1944 ?

A Philadelphia poll in mid-October by the conservative *Evening Bulletin*, which leans toward Dewey, showed that ninety-seven percent of the registered voters intended to vote. We agree that this would be "unprecedented." In fact, for technical, statistical reasons, unnecessary to discuss, it just won't happen. It is worth nothing, however, as a trend. For if the eighty percent turnout of 1940 is matched or bettered it is clear that Dewey's chance of continuing to serve the people of New York as governor are extremely bright.

About 800,000 civilians are registered in Pennsylvania as Republicans. There are probably a few more among the several hundred thousand soldier ballots. High Republican registration is an old story here. It confirms a remark Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, wife of the ex-governor, made when she spoke with Sidney Hillman at a Roosevelt rally held by the Citizens PAC: "I told the President the other day that the Democrats were bluffing when they claimed to be responsible for his election. It was really the Republicans who put him in the White House. And I said it would be the Republican voters who would put him in next month."

The Roosevelt push among the independent Republicans whose votes will decide the election is developing as we write. It is headed by Gifford Pinchot, twice elected governor of the state in the twenties and thirties on the Republican ticket over the opposition of the GOP machine of those days. "I am a Republican, but first I am an American," he said in one of his broadcasts. "My country comes before my party." Pinchot, at eighty-one, is aiming his campaign particularly at farmers and miners who helped elect him.

There are other committees of businessmen, working for Roosevelt in Philadelphia as well as in towns like York. These groups all stress the main issues that Pinchot is broadcasting—"the winning of the war and the winning of the peace . . . whether we agree with Roosevelt in other matters or not, no one can deny that he knows the facts on which the answers depend. The problem is to organize the world for prosperity and permanent peace. For that tremendous task, Dewey will not do."

What about the "big bad wolf" the Dewey pack are hunting—the trade union movement?

"This is no mere political campaign," James McDevitt, state AFL president told a Federation meeting in Philadelphia, "we are fighting for our existence." That epitomizes the drives of the AFL and CIO, with Railroad Brotherhoods participating in many areas.

We must presume, for lack of space, that the reader knows the campaign that the CIO and the Citizens Political Action Committee is putting on. Roosevelt has united CIO unions throughout the state on higher level of activity than they have ever reached, not only in the industrial capitals, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but in Altoona, Erie, and innumerable smaller industrial centers where the rule of the Republican machine is being seriously challenged for the first time. And it is true not only for men, but for women. The Women's Division of PAC has a big job to do, with sixty percent of the vote likely to come from women—and they are doing it.

THE AFL is probably putting on the strongest Roosevelt campaign of any state federation in the country. With the exception of two small cities every central labor body in the state has followed the leadership of the state convention, and unanimously endorsed Roosevelt. Campaign committees have been set up in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and many other cities. When the Philadelphia regional AFL director met with Dewey as a "representative of labor," his removal was unanimously demanded by the Central Labor Union.

The miners, another strong Roosevelt force, offer one of the most stimulating experiences in Pennsylvania. They have found a way to answer the gag convention of John L. Lewis last month, and his Dewey support. They are going to vote for Roosevelt. The nonpartisan Wilkes Barre *Sunday Independent*, largest weekly in the Anthracite, estimates the President will get ninety percent of the miners' vote.

In a trip through the coal areas, I found the Roosevelt sentiment spontaneous, unorganized, uncoordinated, and practically unanimous. Lewis still occupies the coal field. But the Roosevelt light shines in the miners' minds. However, the margin of 104,000 that the soft and hard coal fields gave Roosevelt in 1940 is likely to be considerably lower this year. Estimates run as high as thirty percent less, due largely to an exodus during the past four years.

This puts a bigger onus on Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, the other two Roosevelt strongholds. In 1940, the margin all the mine counties gave Roosevelt offset the GOP lead in the rest of the state, with Pittsburgh and Philadelphia brimming over. These two cities accounted for the exact margin of the Roosevelt victory—282,000: 104,000 from Pittsburgh, 178,000 from Philadelphia.

This year, the two cities will have to make up, not only a lower coal vote, but a possible increase in the Dewey margin in the rural areas. Roosevelt workers in Pittsburgh, where there is a Democratic city administration, are aiming to increase the margin for FDR to 200,000. Philadelphia, in the grip of the Pew machine, is hoping to maintain its 1940 figures, with some cautious analysts warning that 225,000 may be necessary to guarantee Roosevelt the state.

The Republican strategy is to hold Roosevelt's margins in Pittsburgh to 50,000, in Philadelphia to 75,000, and thereby carry the state. Thus, the fate of the nation may depend on these two cities. Their pro-Roosevelt sentiment is generally estimated around sixty percent. If enough people vote, Pennsylvania may produce another Gettysburg, and throw back Dewey as the southern slaveholders were thrown back, eighty-one years ago.

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Last summer, the firm stand of the CIO and the prompt action of President Roosevelt beat down an insurrection against the war around the "white supremacy strike" that tied up Philadelphia transit for a week. Today, Negroes in Philadelphia see Negroes operating trolleys. Is it any wonder that a *Bulletin* poll shows that eighty-three percent of the registered Negroes are for Roosevelt? This Roosevelt strength, which prevails, to a lesser degree, throughout the state, is being fought with all the Pew dollars among the 312,000 Negro voters.

FINALLY, we come to the President's basic organizational strength, the Democratic Party, and the congressional candidates. Roosevelt's party is solidly behind him. Congressman Francis J. Myers is hammering away at the America First record of "Puddler" Jim Davis, GOP wheelhorse, former secretary of Labor in Hoover's cabinet, whose Senate seat he is contesting. Myers has a good record in Congress, and has the statewide support of the CIO. Pressure from the AFL Executive Council kept the state federation from endorsing either senatorial candidate. A few days ago William Green came out with a personal endorsement of Davis. He is quite likely to run ahead of his ticket, so that the margin for President may decide who will be the next gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The most articulate of the Republican congressional delegation, all twenty of whom have black records, is Hugh Scott, from the Germantown "silk stocking" district in Philadelphia. It was this gentleman's spouse who served on the Grand Jury which whitewashed the higher ups in the transit "strike," and delivered a passionate plea for company unionism with its indictment of thirty workers. Coming out of the jury room Mrs. Scott confided to reporters that in her opinion the President and the CIO were responsible for the strike.

Mr. Scott is equally frank. While every other Dewey campaigner avoids Hoover, Mr. Scott came out a few weeks ago to defend him as "a much maligned character." He deplored the fact that Hoover "has become associated in the public mind with apple selling and nothing more," and even discovered that the Great Engineer "had a complete program for lifting us out of the depression, but the Democratic Congress would not allow him to carry it out."

What are the chances of replacing Scott and his associates? The Assembly at its last session, with Mr. Pew in the offing, gerrymandered the congressional districts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, making it extremely difficult for Democrats to get to Washington, even though the President remains there. Nevertheless, a state-wide survey shows that Roosevelt supporters are looking forward to gaining a minimum of five congressional seats. This would give the Democratic delegation eighteen and fifteen for the GOP, compared to the present line-up of twenty Republicans and thirteen Democrats.

The estimate, which is a consensus of various conservative Roosevelt workers, is based on a narrow Roosevelt margin. It requires outstanding progressives, such as Bradley, of Philadelphia, and Scanlon, Eberharter, and Weiss, of Pittsburgh, to hold their cut up districts along with other Democratic incumbents. Two new seats would be picked up in Philadelphia, (not Scott's, in this estimate); one in Wilkes Barre; one in York, where Joseph Gitt, editor of the local paper, has about five organized groups, ranging from business to labor, working for him; and one more either from Erie, where the unions have powered a strong Roosevelt drive, or Butler and Beaver counties, in the western end of the state.

THE congressional picture is, however, fluid. It is quite conceivable that Roosevelt might win a close race, and not get a congressional majority. This danger is slowly being recognized, and Myers, and other campaigners, are punching for representatives who will back the President.

There is also another possibility, which no statistics can show, and which lies deep in the thinking of many people, from miners to bankers, about the issues of war and peace. And that is, that a much stronger Roosevelt vote than present polls indicate may develop in the last few days before election. A number of Republicans who are not fond of the New Deal, or the organized labor movement, are wondering as each day shows that the toughest part of the war is the last 300 miles—what price Dewey? That is why the organizational problem, of reaching them, and talking with them, face to face, may in Pennsylvania decide the future course of the world.

Of one thing there is no doubt, the basis has been laid for the broadest unity the state has seen since Pearl Harbor. It could, with a Roosevelt victory, develop enormous strength and surround like a flood the islands of Grundy and Pew.

BATTLE FOR OHIO

By ROBERT MAYNARD

Cleveland.

IF THE fictitious "man from Mars" dropped his rocket ship into the Columbus, Ohio, airport, bought up all the day's newspapers and listened to a few news broadcasts, he would quickly find the following statements about the coming election:

That some friendly god has sent a hero named Thomas E. Dewey to America and that this hero will be elected President of the United States November 7, thus freeing 130,000,000 oppressed Americans from the dictatorship of a bad old man named Franklin D. Roosevelt.

That the major enemy of the American people is not Hitler, as had been reported by Mars observatories, but something known as PAC which is described as having strangely contradictory characteristics. That PAC is a horrible threat to democracy, dictatorially ordering 5,000,000 CIO members to vote as it decrees and, at the same time, it is unable to swing the votes of CIO people.

Fortunately, Ohio people have lived here longer than the outsider from Mars. They have been through propaganda campaigns before. There is nothing new in the hysterical, irresponsible campaign broadcast by a united front of every major newspaper in the state except the Youngstown *Vindicator* and the Dayton *Daily News*. The latter newspapers are the only Ohio news and editorial organs not participating in the anti-Roosevelt, pro-Dewey campaign of reckless distortion and near-treason. Al-

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most all of the hundreds of smaller dailies and rural weeklies are screaming with the journalistic lynch mob.

Of course, no self-respecting observer, reactionary or progressive, would be so silly as to make a serious prediction at this particular moment. Most of the public opinion polls give Dewey a very tiny edge in getting Ohio's twenty-six electoral votes. No one knows what will happen in the final days of the campaign. One fact is definite. The state of Ohio, known as one of the greatest industrial states in the nation and as the mother of US Presidents, is in the midst of the biggest and probably the most bitter political battle in its history. A quick glance at the major contestants who symbolize the issues to be decided November 7 indicates why the fight is sharpening.

Prominent Ohio Republicans are: Gov. John W. Bricker, a leading aspirant for the GOP presidential nomination until the Chicago convention, and now his party's vice presidential candidate; Sen. Robert A. Taft, ultra-reactionary leader of the Republican-poll tax-Democrat coalition in Congress and chairman of the Republican steering committee in the Senate, who is seeking reelection to another six-year term, and Cincinnati Mayor James Garfield Stewart, the hand-shaking, hail-fellow-well-met Republican candidate for governor.

Leading Democrats are: Husky fifty-six-year-old William G. Pickrel, former lieutenant governor, skilled and ardent campaigner for Roosevelt policies—a hard-slugging foe of Senator Taft and all he stands for in the US Senate race; handsome, earnest Frank J. Lausche, second term mayor of Cleveland, Ohio's largest city, and an outstanding pro-Roosevelt chief executive among the large cities of the United States.

Both Lausche and Pickrel combine practical campaigning ability with understanding of basic policies for early victory and a lasting and prosperous peace. Both are endorsed by the 500,000-strong Ohio CIO and its Political Action Committee, and by other important independent groups.

John W. Bricker gets most of the nicely dressed up publicity — even from the reporters who inevitably agree, after every press conference, that he is somewhat of a dope. But there is little doubt that the most powerful Ohio candidate in the GOP camp is the shrewd, cold-blooded corporation lawyer, Sen. Robert A. Taft. Whether or not Taft can mobilize more Republican votes than Bricker is of little importance in considering the future of America, which is, after all, the question at stake in the elections. The Ohio Senator is a key figure both in Ohio and the nation. He is a leader of the present reactionary bloc in Congress and will become more powerful if he and his cohorts are elected.

One vote will be missing when the totals are added on Election Day: that of Morris U. Schappes. The man who has devoted his life to defending the democratic rights of the people is still unjustly deprived of his own freedom. Lift your voice on his behalf. Send a letter or telegram to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y., asking him to pardon Morris U. Schappes.

The record of Senator Taft, systematically being exposed in millions of leaflets issued by unions and other independent political action committees, is unambiguous. Taft is one of the few Republican leaders who speaks out frankly concerning the real policies of the GOP, while Candidate Dewey broadcasts glittering generalities to cover up. An America First speaker and theoretician, Senator Taft has sought to influence government policies again and again in line with his declarations that "the New Deal crowd," not Hitler, is the most dangerous enemy of the American people. He even repeated this idea in the opening broadcast of his present campaign for reelection a few weeks ago.

The legislative record of the senior Senator from Ohio speaks for itself. Taft fought selective service, the lend-lease bills, ship armament legislation, the ship seizure bills, and suggested that there were two evils—a victory for Russian Communism or Hitler fascism —and of the two a Hitler victory was by far the lesser evil.

Senator Taft was born to wealth, the son of former President William Howard Taft, who is known as the father of the anti-labor injunction and who once asserted that "a dollar a day is enough for any working man." The 1944 Senator follows the same domestic policies. During his debate against selective service, he proposed that we draft workers at twenty-one dollars a month. When he was fighting OPA, he announced: "I do not think there is any great harm in an increase of twenty to twenty-five percent in prices." He has also suggested that we could "get at least two billion additional dollars from a five percent sales tax, at least four billion from a ten percent sales tax."

This man, who spent $168,000 to get elected, is one of the most frequently quoted US statesmen in Nazi propaganda broadcasts and in more than a score of native fascist papers whose editors are now on trial or mentioned in the current trial of the twenty-six alleged seditionists. He was frequently quoted by the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official organ of the German-American Bund, and by Hitler's own *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

REPUBLICAN brain-trusters base their hopes of winning Ohio on a number of factors. It is true that Roosevelt has carried Ohio, in spite of its strong Republican vote, in all of the last three national elections. But the 1940 Roosevelt-Willkie race gave the President only 52.5 percent of the votes, with the big industrial centers of Cleveland, Youngstown, Canton-Massilon, Dayton, Columbus, and smaller industrial areas swinging the majority. Then there is the fact that the Republican machine is strong, united, and superbly financed in Ohio, while the Democratic Party is less united, weakened by internal splits, hampered by the pressure of such "Farley Democrats" as Cleveland Boss Ray T. Miller, who is still feuding with Lausche. Some Democratic politicos are still hesitant about uniting with CIO-PAC and other independent nonpartisan groups.

The Republicans, through Governor Bricker, control state government patronage, and, with a large majority in the state legislature, they run the state government. Both Senators, Burton and Taft, are Republicans, and twenty of Ohio's twenty-three Congressmen are under the GOP banner.

Another factor that the GOP had been counting on was a light vote. Hundreds of thousands of Ohioans failed to vote either in 1942 or in the municipal elections of 1943, thus losing their vot-

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ing rights unless they take the trouble to re-register. In Greater Cleveland 630,000 were registered in 1940, and 342,000 of these were cancelled after 1942. Governor Bricker, like his running mate Governor Dewey, did everything possible to make soldier voting and registration of war workers difficult. There are, however, a number of positive factors in the picture that make it possible to swing Ohio for FDR. Labor, with approximately 1,000,000 members of Ohio's more than 6,000,000 people, is united behind President Roosevelt and his policies to a greater extent than ever before. Taft-Dewey-Bricker strategists have labored mightily, but vainly, in hopes of obtaining splits and disaffections within the labor movement. John L. Lewis raged and roared into Cincinnati for the biennial convention of the unaffiliated United Mine Workers of America last month. He was bent on dictating an endorsement from that 600,000-strong organization for Dewey. But the best he could get even by his strong-arm methods was a resolution which praised Dewey and attacked Roosevelt, but made no endorsement.

The only Ohio labor leader lined up by the GOP is John A. Breidenbach, who, like Lewis, is a professional Republican politician from way back. Breidenbach is boss of the Dayton Central Labor Union (AFL). He is also boss of the Dayton newspaper, *Labor Union*. This paper is being used nationwide to smear the CIO-PAC. CIO-PAC pointed out that Breidenbach was on the payroll of the Republican Party in 1940. Breidenbach replied with a public statement demanding a retraction of the charges, and threatened to sue CIO President Jack Kroll if the retraction were not made. Kroll said: "I will not retract publicly or privately." No suit has been filed to date. Though Breidenbach is vice president of the Ohio Federation of Labor, convention delegates, meeting at Columbus last month, voted four to one to endorse Roosevelt. And in Dayton, nineteen billboards are signed by AFL, CIO, and railroad unions, endorsing FDR.

Apart from the efforts of the Democratic Party and of organized labor, a broad nonpartisan movement has been launched in behalf of the President's reelection under the name of the Ohio Citizens Committee for Roosevelt. Chairman of this group is Cyril Bath, Cleveland industrialist. The treasurer is Mrs. Preston Irwin, a lifelong Republican. In a Cincinnati *Post* interview Bath commented that he could not understand why so many of his friends in industry were acting against their own best interests by opposing the President's program.

"Harmonica Player," sculpture in kelobra wood by Nat Werner. Part of a one-man exhibition at the ACA Gallery until November 4.

The almost solid rural vote which the Republicans are claiming may also prove less solid than the professional dopesters expect. Ohio is one of the few states where the Farm Bureau, one of the nation's strongest farm organizations, is under progressive leadership. Murray Lincoln, president of the Ohio Farm Bureau, has never trailed along with the reactionary policies of the national leaders.

There is also reason to believe that the Negro vote will be largely pro-Roosevelt. CIO-PAC campaigners have had the experience of being told of Negro Republican precinct committeemen: "Of course, I'm voting for Roosevelt and against Taft, but I've got to put up a show." The influential *Ohio State News* and other Negro community papers are out for FDR. However, another leading Negro paper, the Cleveland *Call and Post*, after attacking the policies of the Republican Party and demanding new leadership prior to the GOP convention, is supporting Dewey.

Finally, there is the all-important matter of registration. Suddenly the long drive of CIO-PAC and other groups to persuade citizens to register bore fruit within a few days of the October 9 deadline. In Toledo the streets were jammed with cars outside the election board offices. In Cincinnati shop stewards and committeemen pulled up their cars and rushed workers to the election board to thwart the "light vote" campaign of the Republicans. The same thing happened in other major industrial centers.

Final registration figures for the entire state are not yet available at this writing, but they total approximately 4,000,000, a more than twenty percent increase over the record 3,303,087 in 1940. All the principal cities, with the possible exception of Cincinnati, shared in this higher registration. Thus Republican hopes for a light vote seem destined to be blasted. Though the Gallup poll still lists Ohio in the Dewey column, the chances are increasingly good that the voters will list it differently on November 7.

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THE FUTURE OF GERMANY II

A SYMPOSIUM

The symposium below is in response to NEW MASSES' *request for comment on two articles it recently published about the settlement of Germany. The first article ("What About Germany?") by Hans Berger appeared in the issue of August 8 and the second ("Keys To A Lasting Peace") by R. Palme Dutt in the issue of August 22. Last week's* NEW MASSES *(October 24) carried the first installment of this symposium. Those who participated were J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign minister of Republican Spain; Albert Guerard, professor of comparative literature at Stanford University and author of several books on Europe; Albert H. Schreiner, member of the organizing committee of the Council for a Democratic Germany and author of three books on Germany's war machine; Luigi Sturzo, the distinguished Italian anti-fascist and one of the founders of Italy's Christian Democratic Party; and William Jay Schieffelin, member of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy.—The Editors.*

LOUIS NIZER

Author of "What To Do With Germany"

THE general conclusions in both articles are sound: that there must be full occupation of Germany; merciless extirpation of the Pan-German groups, including trials of war criminals by courts of the United Nations, not German courts; disarmament economically as well as militarily; reparations by labor, money, and goods (I would add under international control); and a re-education program (referred to as a generality but concerning which I have made more concrete suggestions elsewhere), so that Germany may regain her sovereignty and join the family of nations only when she has proved by deed her genuine acceptance of democracy.

Above all, both articles pray for the continued unity among the United Nations. Here, however, I find that the writers—particularly Mr. Berger—have been unable to resist dragging into the discussion the old argument about England's villainy and Russia's resulting martyrdom. This requires comment. Unity must be built on something better than partisan prejudices. We have all exhausted our epithets over England's conduct toward Czechoslovakia. But posies cannot be given to Russia for her preceding invasion of Finland, or her subsequent pact with Hitler. Even if Russia's treaty with Hitler was the result of Munich, it was morally just as reprehensible. Under no circumstances can one justify, let alone applaud, the grasping of Hitler's bloody hand in partnership, and the joint pouncing upon Poland to share in the rape. If the answer is that Russia was playing for time, cannot the same be said for England, which then had two anti-aircraft guns?

It is charged that England sought to turn the marauder in Russia's direction. But did not Russia permit England to bleed and burn during the blitz, while she issued statements that "the plutocratic democracies were decadent" and that Nazism was the noble answer to imperialism? It was England which broke the sequence of "you made your bed—now lie in it." For when Germany pounced upon Russia, it was Churchill who within a few hours offered physical aid and comradeship in arms despite all past events. The hunt for responsibility leads to such unpleasant by-paths as the question whether Russia was really only playing for time, since she interfered with production in the United States, helped chaos in France, and otherwise issued a perfect Goebbel's propaganda line. Was it necessary to weaken Hitler's opponents if she thought some day she would be in their camp? And if responsibility is to be based on priority, what shall we say of the Communists in Germany who hated the liberals so much that they joined with Nazi mobs against the weak Republic and helped put Hitler into power? As Mr. Dutt says in your article, "the pro-fascist policy . . . has never been able to be put through except with the aid of dangerous or confused sections in the labor movement and among the left."

No, there was no monopoly of villainy or stupidity in the pre-war era. Mr. Berger has curved the historical mirror by his references to England's guilt and Russia's betrayal, and the resulting distortions do not aid the form of unity which is reflected in it. His argument is like that of the Bishop who was persuaded to patch up differences with a Bishop of another denomination and tolerantly announced, "Yes, let's be friends. You worship God in your way and I'll worship God in God's way." Russia's was not God's way, any more than was England's or even that of the United States (with her shipments to Japan). The great danger from such a colored blame-fixing inquiry into historical cause and effect is that it focuses attention on the former weaknesses of the United Nations instead of upon the iniquity of Germany. Thus it defeats the hope for unity in two ways; it revives disputes no longer relevant to the common objective; and it removes the spotlight from the real criminal—the greatest in the world's history. I have often pondered and regretted our tendency to confuse the responsibility of negligent and corrupt policemen with that of the brazen criminal who challenges their integrity by sheer wickedness. Can the sins of England, France, Russia, and the United States, in not restraining the Germans, possibly be compared with Germany's deliberate criminal conspiracy to ravage the world? Shall our contempt for negative nationalism, which resulted in disunity among the intended victims, be no greater than for the affirmative slogan of the Germans that "War is beautiful because it permits you to kill without passion"?

England has paid for her folly with burned cities and charred bodies. To this day, even when victory is on the horizon, her people are being maimed and killed in the shelter of their own homes. Russia's suffering and sacrifices have exceeded both the heroic standards of any previous resistance. If nations can be purged by fire and heroism, these two nations have been. So, too, the United States has been shocked from its own appeasement lethargy by the furor of war, and has responded magnificently to the challenge.

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Let us not weaken the cement of unification by the revival of old credos which made an "imperialistic war" one day "a war for freedom" the next. The unity so eagerly prayed for must withstand many earthquakes of natural differences. Let us not add the last taunt that ours was God's way.

With humility toward our past *common* errors, and with the inspiration of success in brotherly comradeship—so much may be expected of the future!

LION FEUCHTWANGER

Author of "Paris Gazette" and other novels

THE first task after the defeat of the German armies remains: the extermination of Nazism. On this point the United Nations are unanimous. But there are many obstacles to the attainment of this goal. There are, first of all, difficulties of an external nature. Many of the leading Nazis will flee abroad during the collapse. They have prepared for this eventuality by depositing large sums of stolen money in foreign banks; and they feel confident that the forces of international fascism will support them. It will not be easy to lay hands on them. And it will be doubly hard to get from them the loot which they have ingeniously invested in various types of foreign businesses.

It will be extremely difficult to determine who is really a Nazi, and who is not. Countless National Socialists will deny ever having been Nazis. They will assert that they merely obeyed orders of their superiors, that they acted under duress, but that in their hearts they were never Nazis. International fascism is already appealing for sympathy and understanding for these "innocents." A clear, unequivocal definition of what constitutes a Nazi is necessary, so that *all* the guilty are caught. For it is not a question of rendering thousands or even tens of thousands harmless—it involves hundreds of thousands.

Many non-Germans, linked with National Socialism by ties of family or friendship, will oppose punishing the guilty; especially those who are prone to wink an eye because of their business connections with the Nazis. They are scattered throughout the world, and among them there are people of influence. They will do their utmost to help the Nazis evade punishment. They will seek to limit the number of those considered Nazis by proposing a mild and watered-down interpretation of the concept of Nazism. They will ask for human understanding of the criminals.

At the same time, those who draw no distinction between Germans and Nazis are, involuntarily and unknowingly, working in the same direction. Thus there are people who in their blind zeal trot out a thousand and one threadbare arguments seeking to prove that 80,000,000 Germans were fated to be National Socialists, as a result of their birth, history, and the geographical position of their country. Such assertions only make it harder to punish the real Nazis. Obviously it is impossible to make 80,000,000 people harmless. So these zealots, if their advice is followed, will in the end succeed in sparing the Nazis with the Germans.

The Soviet people have left no doubt as to their attitude on this question. They know and have on many occasions explicitly declared that they attribute to the Hitlerites, and not to the German people, the guilt for the unimaginable atrocities they have suffered. The peoples of the Soviet Union are not misled by some senseless thirst for revenge into wishing to sweep the 80,000,000 Germans from the earth.

They are, however, firmly resolved to prevent by every means in their power any recurrence of the evil which the Nazis have caused the Soviet Union and the world. They vigorously insist that Nazism and fascism must once and for all be wiped out of existence. In their own country they have implacably destroyed the fifth column. They have shown that they understand the phrase of the great German writer: "To punish the criminals is human, to spare them is barbarous."

With the help of the other United Nations, they will render the Nazis harmless—*all* the Nazis, the big as well as the small. They will see to it that all Nazi institutions, whatever their disguise, disappear from the life of the German people. In this way they will lay the basis for a democratic Germany.

After the war German economy will be called upon to help rebuild what the Nazis have destroyed throughout the world. This is a just claim on which the United Nations are unanimous.

On the other hand, many demand that German economy be throttled. They would destroy or confiscate whatever German factories and machines are left after the war. These machine-wreckers argue that an economically strong Germany is a threat to world peace. They point out how quickly after World War I German industry restored the Reich as a strong military power. They assert that the de-industrialization of Germany is one of the prerequisites for world peace.

By advancing such arguments, they toss out the baby with the bath. German industry can be maintained in such a way that it can only serve, and not harm, the world. What is the surest method of accomplishing this? Control those who themselves control German economy. Eliminate all those who may have any interest in re-arming the Reich: the big landowners, the monopolists in industry, and the closely linked militarists, all of whom helped Nazism to power. And see to it that they do not use some foreign mask to renew their hold on German economy. The United Nations will have to exhibit much wisdom and vigilance to achieve this goal.

THERE is much current discussion about the need for "reeducating" Germany. People talk as though German culture has completely died out under twelve years of Nazi rule.

No one, of course, will pretend that in these twelve years culture has been visible within the boundaries of Germany. But that does not mean that German science, German art, German culture and civilization have come to an end. During these twelve years they have gone underground. And here, too, only one decisive act is necessary: destroy Nazism. Liberate German culture from the straitjacket placed upon it by the Nazis and their accomplices, the international fascists, and German culture will again see the light of day.

It is in the interest of all the United Nations to protect German culture from over-zealous educators who seek to take it in tow. German culture, fundamentally democratic, anti-imperialist, and humanist, needs no foreign guidance. It has always accepted and made its own whatever is of value in foreign cultures. To protect this great old German culture from attempts to muzzle it—whether the attempts are well-intentioned or not—is one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations.

The new Germany will have to travel a hard road. It is inevitable that,

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as the Nazis are rooted out, the innocent will have to suffer along with the guilty. It is hard to get rid of all the rotten meat without cutting away some of the good. The reconstruction of the devastated areas everywhere in Europe will make heavy demands on the Germans. Lean years of deprivation lie ahead of them.

But the price that has to be paid will not be too high. For this new Germany of work and sacrifice will be truly democratic, free of fascism of any kind, free of Junkers, big landowners, militarists, and monopolists of industry.

A long fight will be necessary before the struggle between fascism and anti-fascism, between tyranny and law, between the rule of unbridled instincts and the rule of reason is finally decided in favor of reason. In this conflict, it is essential that a trustworthy, democratic Germany fight on the side of civilization.

A NOTE OF COMMENT

By JOHN STUART

PROFESSOR GUERARD is, of course, right when he underscores the complexity of the problems involved in the European settlement and especially the German. He is right, also, when he stresses the difficulty of getting everyone to agree about everything. Public discussion of all these intricate issues, to which we hope this symposium contributes a modest share, helps clear a cloudy atmosphere and makes it possible to examine problems from many sides. But in the end we shall have to find a minimum area of agreement on the means and methods for securing the world's peace and one of the cores of that problem is how to prevent in the future the revival of German and Japanese aggression.

No one with any real sense of what creates international conflict will deny that Professor Guerard is correct when he says that orbits and spheres of influence—all the threadbare paraphernalia of power politics—cannot attain universal calm and order. But I am afraid that once he has disavowed "orbits" in principle he recreates it in fact with the idea of Europe as an orbit in itself—a Europe of a special kind as the rampart of peace. I can find no better answer to the concept of purely European solutions for the restraint of German aggression than that made by Dr. Hubert Ripka, the Czechoslovak minister of state for foreign affairs. It is worth quoting him at some length:

"The division of world security according to continents would lead merely to the organization of competing power blocs which would oppose each other. But here I am impelled to ask how continents can be defined. What is Europe? Does Great Britain form a part of it? Undoubtedly it does. But with Britain forming a part of it, Europe consequently extends all over the globe. Incidentally, the same applies to France and her colonial possessions. And is Russia a part of Europe? Undoubtedly it is, not only geographically, not only politically, but also culturally, for Russian civilization, including the present Soviet order, is based upon the common European intellectual and social tradition. But with Russia forming a part of it, Europe extends into Asia. Then too, without the participation of Great Britain and Russia, Europe will necessarily run the risk of succumbing sooner or later to the domination of Germany which, after Great Britain and Russia, is by far the strongest country in Europe. Would it be possible, furthermore, to organize the security of the United States? These remarks will perhaps suffice to make it clear that it would not be desirable but that, on the contrary, it would be dangerous, if we endeavored to base a worldwide organization on a division according to continents." (From a speech made in London, May 8, 1944.)

Mr. Schreiner, Mr. del Vayo, and Mr. Nizer underline the importance of the unity of the great nations as guardians of the peace and in this regard all see eye to eye with Dutt and Berger. But Mr. Nizer charges Berger with muting German war guilt by pointing out the sins of British and French and American policy in the past. I believe this criticism unjustified and a careful reading of Berger's article convinces me that one of his objectives was to dissect the pathological diplomacy of the inter-war period in order to give some guidance to what must be avoided in the future. And Berger, in my estimation, is without doubt right when he insists that neither the sins nor the sinners of the past are dead. William Bullitt's article in *Life* should be conclusive evidence that there are personalities here and in England who are working towards a repetition of the old delinquencies.

It would of course be pleasant to skim over history, "our past common errors," as Mr. Nizer describes them. If they were just mistakes one could dismiss them lightly, but they were hardly mistakes in the dictionary sense of the word: they were the policies of many governments in the west which led inevitably toward war and which gave Germany the opportunity to embark on death and terror as the vehicles of her own ambitions. The fact is that we are paying with blood for those little "errors" of recent history. Those were the "errors" by which the Allied powers, as they emerged from the last war, tolerated and secretly consented to the rearmament of Germany because their fear of the USSR was greater than their fear of German imperialism. This was the factor which straitjacketed the disarmament provisos of the Versailles Treaty. The Germans were able to amass war materials and form illegal armed corps not because Britain and France were unable to stop it or unable to enforce Versailles but solely because they were preparing Germany as the great buffer between themselves and the Soviet Union.

Since this in Mr. Nizer's understanding is just an "error," he, of course, reweaves all the fabric of nonsense about the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, about Finland, and the "rape" of Poland. Mr. Nizer, who, as a lawyer, should know that he cannot attribute words to others unless he has irrefutable proof, goes so far as to say that the Soviet government issued statements to the effect that " 'the plutocratic democracies were decadent' " and that "Nazism was the noble answer to imperialism." If Mr. Nizer can furnish me with the name of one authentic Soviet spokesman who ever said that, I shall be glad to eat in public the paper on which these words are printed.

I AM afraid also that I shall have to charge Mr. Nizer with failure to equip himself with even the most elementary facts. For example, would Mr. Nizer deny that in 1938 the USSR stood ready to defend Czechoslovakia and crush German imperialism by collective action? The historical record is overwhelming in its evidence that not until the Soviet pleading for collective

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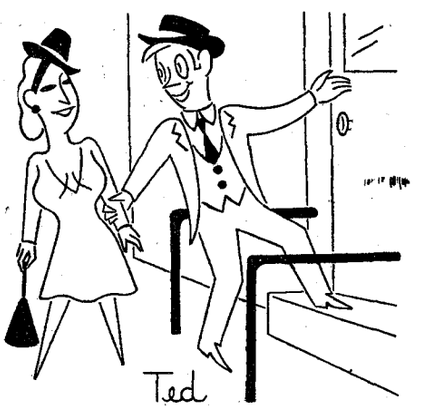
security was to no avail—and the Munich agreement was the signal—did she resort to other alternatives to frustrate the international conspiracy against her. And out of the nonaggression pact with Germany, the USSR secured, in the words of Stalin, "peace for a year and a half, and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact. This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany." And I might add parenthetically a definite advantage to the United States. And if Mr. Nizer thinks that a world conspiracy against the USSR was an invention of the Kremlin, then let him listen to a non-Soviet source who was during the whole tragic pre-war period the US Under-Secretary of State—in a position to know more than Mr. Nizer or I could read in the newspapers. In his book *The Time For Decision*, Sumner Welles writes: "In those pre-war years, great financial and commercial interests of the western democracies, including many in the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany could only be favorable to their own interests. They maintained that Russia would necessarily be defeated, and with this defeat Communism would be destroyed."

AT THE same level of distortion is Mr. Nizer's argument that the German Communists so hated German liberals that the former joined the Nazis in the fight against the Weimar Republic. This is, of course, a blatant falsehood. (The Nazis have just murdered the Communist leader, Ernst Thaelmann, in payment for past "cooperation.") And more, what liberals is Mr. Nizer talking about? There was no liberal party of any influence in Germany. Perhaps he means the German Social Democrats. In fact I am sure that he does because his brief of accusations against the USSR parallels in almost every particular those made by these Social Democrats. The Social Democratic leaders rejected as provocative acts every proposal of the Communists for joint struggle; they proposed the election of Hindenburg "to save" Germany from Hitler and in the end capitulated to Hitler. Now the worst of them, the irreconcilables, are in this country stoking anti-Soviet fires and singing hosannas to the fine prose of William Bullitt. Mr. Nizer would apparently like to forget all this and I should too. But there is too much to be learned from this history and learning its meaning is preliminary to building an indestructible unity of the grand alliance leading the United Nations.

As for the central question of what to do with Germany, the conclusions of the six contributors to this symposium on the whole move in the same direction as those reached by Dutt and Berger. Different points are, of course, stressed in different ways. Mr. Sturzo, for example, emphasizes the role of the Church in Germany's future. And all three—Berger, Sturzo, and Dutt—are equally agreed about the pivotal part the German working class will have to play. Mr. Schieffelin, in warning the Allies to side with the German "have nots" against the "haves," also places considerable confidence and hope in German religious leaders.

Unhappily German history shows that neither the Catholic nor Protestant church leadership have been serious factors in fighting German imperialism and fascism. This is, of course, a generalization that must be qualified in several particulars. But on the whole the German churches did not and could not prevent the sweep of barbarism. German Catholics, Protestants, and atheists have killed and are killing with equal brutality. And it would be unrealistic to depend on the churches to prevent the revival of German imperialism. If the German churches after the annihilation of the Hitler regime will use their freedom to reeducate the country in the spirit of democracy then these churches and their many heroic anti-fascist clergymen will play a profitable part in reconverting Germany. It is the Catholic hierarchy, however, which will have special problems to overcome in view of the Vatican's notorious appeasement career and its shabby role during the war. The Vatican has yet to align itself with the undeniable anti-fascist position of the Catholic masses in Europe and this hemisphere.



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After the contributions to this symposium reached NEW MASSES a flurry of comment developed about the so-called Morgenthau plan outlining the future of Germany. I regret that none of the symposium's participants had the opportunity to offer his opinions about it. At best, that might have been a most difficult task because the newspaper reports of what Mr. Morgenthau and his advisers have in mind are garbled and there can hardly be a profitable discussion without the pertinent facts. But it is quite clear that one feature of the Morgenthau proposals involves stripping Germany of its industry. One can be in total disagreement with this solution of the German problem yet one must also admire the spirit in which the issue is undertaken. Mr. Morgenthau is a cabinet officer whose work at the Bretton Woods monetary conference distinguished him as among the country's firmest advocates of giving economic substance to the Teheran agreement. His phrase, "prosperity is indivisible," will long be remembered for the manner in which it crystallized the need for the strongest international collaboration in trade and finance. And again in connection with Germany, Mr. Morgenthau's ideas are motivated by the need to destroy Germany's war potential. He is not magnanimous; he is not in the camp of the soft-peace makers.

But after having paid tribute to Secretary Morgenthau's hard-headedness one must ask the key question: what has been the cause of German aggression, and does de-industrialization guarantee its prevention? In my opinion it does not, for it is based on the erroneous premise that it is industry that causes war. If that were the case the best peace measures would be those which denude the earth of its industries. The de-industrialization argument is in the category of the one which claimed that the amassing of armaments was the best preventive of war. Actually France, England, and the United States—including the Soviet Union—had among themselves the greatest part of the world's military strength. Yet that did not prevent war, for arms without correct policy, without collective action, is as useless as a revolver without bullets.

The origins of German rapacity are not to be found in its industrial plant but among those who ruled it and dominate it today; it is to be found in the world politics of the inter-war years and among Germany's industrial barons and bankers who converted German factories

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WHY LIPPMANN SAYS 'FDR'

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S visit to New York and his speech before the Foreign Policy Association revealed those qualities of youthful audacity, imagination, and bold realism which make him one of the great figures of our time. For nearly five hours the man who in public print and private gossip, in smeartalk and snide innuendo had been painted as sick and tired and feeble braved a chilling rain in an open car, and then came back in the evening to speak for almost an hour the clear, strong, vibrant words that men and women everywhere can hold in their hearts as their own. Three million New Yorkers poured out on the streets in magnificent tribute to the man whose leadership symbolizes the greatness of America, its unquenchable fighting spirit, its will to use its power in helping shape a new future for ourselves and all mankind.

The use of America's power in the world of today and tomorrow was the theme of the President's discussion of foreign policy. Who stood in the way of its effective use in the past, and what must be done to assure such use in the future—on these points Mr. Roosevelt spoke with a candor and cogency that only underlined the evasiveness, duplicity, and monumental incompetence of the speech on foreign affairs made only a few nights earlier by the very little man who is trying to bamboozle the American people into cutting down the presidency to his size.

The President spoke almost in a conversational tone, citing chapter and verse of Republican obstructionism in Congress in the pre-war years, naming names like Hiram Johnson, Gerald P. Nye, Hamilton Fish—the men who would head key congressional committees in the event of a GOP victory. This was no partisan plea. The President also talked of the men and women in the Republican Party "of vision and courage," and paid tribute to one of them sitting at his table, Secretary of War Stimson. And Mr. Roosevelt set the record straight about his own administration's role, citing with pride the recognition of Soviet Russia in 1933 and the various proposals he had made in an effort to halt fascist aggression.

Concerning measures to safeguard peace after the war is won Mr. Roosevelt did not content himself with billowy generalities that commit one to nothing in particular. He drove to the core of the issue: the power of the American representative in the future world organization to act without being compelled to submit every step for enforcing peace to endless debate and possible veto by Congress. The President's stand was unequivocal: ". . . if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our American representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in Congress, with authority to act." Thus he directly challenged the silence of Governor Dewey on this question and the position of the defeatists who dominate the Republican Party and do not want peace machinery that they cannot sabotage.

Likewise on the question of Germany the President gave firm leadership that by contrast exposed the meanness of Dewey's efforts to cuddle up to the "soft peace" advocates among Americans of German descent. There must be no bargaining with the Nazi conspirators, FDR said; they must be deprived of all the instruments of government and of all power to make war. But the German people will not be enslaved; neither will they be coddled; they will have to "earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations."

Take this speech out of the context of the political campaign and it would remain a major contribution to American leadership in the world crisis. But of course the campaign is not separate from these issues. It is in fact a struggle to determine whether this American leadership is to continue or is to be replaced by one that announces its bankruptcy in advance. The President's address has helped millions to understand and to choose wisely on November 7.

MR. DEWEY'S foreign policy speech before the *Herald Tribune* Forum was strikingly brilliant—brilliant because no ordinary mortal could display such capacity for political deceit. The Republican hierarchy is, of course, not conducting an honest campaign. There would be little left to it if its structure of argument were not built on lies, half truths, and nasty whisperings about the President and his family. Take for example Dewey's assertion about the Rumanian armistice. If he did not know that an area military commander is vested with the right to sign temporary terms on behalf of the Allies, then this is an instance of Dewey's ignorance of the most elementary facts of international procedure in such matters. If he did know then he deliberately lied with the intent of evoking the idea that the President was ruled by the Kremlin because a Red Army general signed the surrender agreement.

No apology came from Dewey after the State Department presented the facts on the Rumanian negotiations. For him to have done that would indicate a desire to keep the record straight—an expression of honesty alien to the men who are in a frenzy to win by hook or crook. And the biggest steal of the week was Dewey's claim that the Dumbarton Oaks plan was based on his recommendations which, if we remember correctly, recommended that there be no Dumbarton Oaks meeting because the small countries were going to be pushed around by the big. But since Mr. Dewey preempts to himself the credit for Dumbarton Oaks, that naturally makes him a party to the "secrecy" with which he charges the President conducts foreign affairs. In this case, however, it is perfectly all right to be "secretive" because it means votes. And Dewey's blaming the President for Italy's poverty is another one of those falsehoods which will strike back at him on November 7. Did Dewey ever hear of Mussolini and fascism—how they plundered the Italian people and brought them to ruin? Has Dewey stopped reading the newspapers where he could have easily found the measures taken by the President to help Italians and give them the opportunity of rehabilitating their economy? As for Poland, Dewey, who has suddenly discovered that country in the last three weeks, would solve its problems by putting them in the hands of Polish anti-Sovieteers. In no time, if Dewey were President, they would be back in War-

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saw supported by American bayonets because there is no one else in Europe outside the Nazis who would soil their hands with them. Eastern Europe would consequently become a center of seething antagonisms, a focus of civil war and a *place d'armes* for action against the USSR. It would mean not a period of peace but of instability, leading eventually to open conflict in which American boys would again lose their lives because Dewey committed himself to a foreign policy in support of the most treacherous elements on the continent.

Political and economic instability abroad cannot but have devastating effects at home. A Europe in disorder means, for example, that American manufacturers will hesitate to extend credit abroad because repayment is uncertain. And it is from this angle that many American businessmen look aghast at Dewey's foreign politics. This accounts in large measure for Walter Lippmann's trenchant political column in criticism of Dewey and for Lippmann's support of the President. Lippmann is an independent Republican who does considerable thinking for the financial community just as his writings reflect the currents of thought among many circles of men who operate and own American industry. And when Lippmann writes that "I cannot feel that Governor Dewey can be trusted now with responsibility in foreign affairs" he is simply voicing the troubled feelings of those Republicans who looked to Wendell Willkie for leadership and who felt that his presence would somehow restrain the wild men of the Republican hierarchy from committing the most grievous blunders. Now Willkie is gone and they must perforce look to Roosevelt to maintain that international balance in which trade and business abroad will not be jeopardized.

This represents hard-headed thinking, a thinking that is infiltrating in one form or another into Republican ranks and playing havoc with Dewey's most coldly calculated plans. Republican Senator Ball's support of the President, along with that of Wendell Willkie's co-worker Russell Davenport, marks a wide fissure in the Republican dike which in the remaining days of the campaign may develop into a yawning chasm. All this is an unprecedented example of how the major issues of our time find their answers not in party regularity but in those men and movements who can best protect the national interest as part of a world fellowship. The far-sighted independent Republicans are choosing Roosevelt to lead them, for in Dewey they can only see a future of chaos resting on disaster. And it is one of the ironies of the period that the editorial page of the New York *Herald Tribune*, which in the past did so much to lead the way for nonpartisanship in international affairs, has been outdistanced and left behind by those whom it presumed to teach a few elementary lessons. The *Tribune* editorials are tragic examples of how partisanship distorts vision until nothing but a mass of blind spots remains. Their defense of Dewey's speeches, for all their polish and gentility, might well appear in McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*—a paper which on more than one occasion they denounced for its blatant dishonesty. Unhappily, under our Constitution no one can stop a man from being an utter fool or prevent a newspaper from stultifying itself.

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Bait for Labor

This election campaign is no mere rivalry of two candidates for the presidency of the United States. This is a major conflict of two divergent social outlooks. Mr. Dewey is the candidate of the most reactionary political forces in our country. These anti-social, anti-labor groupings have been consistent opponents of all progressive change and legislation. Over the period of the last twelve years the President has led the progressive movement in the unprecedented victories of the New Deal social and labor laws reflected in the vast unfolding of the labor movement and the realization of a growing measure of social and economic security by the people.

In his Pittsburgh speech Mr. Dewey sought to conceal this gap between the two social outlooks and to pose as labor's new found friend. He attributed the pitifully insignificant Harding-Coolidge-Hoover labor advances to the Republican Party and glossed over the New Deal progress as the continuation of the "social trend" for which none could claim credit. All these advances he promised to uphold. The cynical defenders of the Little Steel formula must have chuckled at his clumsy Peglerian style of denouncing the President over the railway wage dispute. This hollow indignation was little more than hidden anger over the rise in wages granted the railwaymen. Dewey's promises to labor must be judged by his record. And his record is the record of his party and all his backers who fought and still fight labor tooth and nail. His studied failure to repudiate their antiquated policies is a covert approval of these policies. For if Dewey should ever open the doors of the White House the anti-labor gang would be the first to crowd in and take control.

In this light his spurious doubletalk of "Communist control" of the Democratic Party takes on its true meaning. In his language and the language of his fellow travelers, Pegler, Dies, Hearst and McCormick, the "Communists" are none other than the President, his Cabinet and the progressive sponsors and supporters of the entire body of New Deal social and labor legislation. His promise of an administration "free of Communists" must be translated from the Peglerian language into plain English to read: a return to the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era.

Toward Polish Unity

To judge from the brief but meaningful communique issued after the Churchill-Stalin talks in Moscow it is obvious that a number of harassing problems have been straightened out and those that remain will find their solution in the warm friendship of the Allies. Again we have proof that there is hardly a political barrier that cannot be hurdled by consultation and compromise. The Polish issue, as we have pointed out before, is one test of harmony among the great powers, and while there have been those who would use this issue for divisive purposes the underlying agreement on common objectives—a strong, independent, and representative Poland—has made it possible to narrow down the differences to the point where a united Polish government is definitely forseeable. If a hitch should develop again it will at least be clear to Downing Street that the fault lies among those London exiles to whom a democratic Poland is anathema. The question that remains to be settled is not one involving Polish borders: Mr. Churchill has made it clear in two speeches that he supports the Soviet Union's attitude towards its western boundary. What is yet to be settled is

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proper representation in a new provisional authority which must include in the majority those progressive figures who lead in Poland's liberation and who are firmly behind a policy of good neighborliness with the USSR. The question of reestablishing the democratic 1921 constitution as opposed to the dictatorial organic charter of 1935 is also uppermost. In any event we shall know soon whether Mikolajczyk can act in a forthright manner or is still being hamstrung by his colleagues.

The progress of the war in the Balkan area has not only called for greater coordination of battle programs between the Red Army and that of the British and the Americans, but it has raised a number of political points on which agreement was also imperative. The Moscow communique informs us that an agreement was reached on armistice terms for Bulgaria and that a joint pol-

(*Continued on page 27*)

Avenging Bataan

A GREAT milestone has been reached in the Pacific. As a result of a gigantic and brilliantly conceived operation carried out by Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur, our troops were able to land in the central Philippines in formidable numbers at a time when the Japanese expected a blow at Davao. This was a strategic surprise for which several heads will again fall in Tokyo. All around the area of attack Japanese air and naval power has been reduced at least to temporary impotence by the blows of our task force and China based Superfortresses. Just as the enemy's shameless and stupid boasting about the "victory" at Formosa was at its height, MacArthur struck at Leyte Island, from where he will be able to pound Japanese air power both on Mindanao and Luzon.

The struggle will be bloody and hard. The Japanese know the critical importance of Leyte because its reconquest hastens the wiping out of their hold on their Pacific empire. And it is a great tribute to our military planners, to their and the President's strategic foresight, that we are able to deliver so vast a blow—a blow that will reverberate in every corner of the Far East. The marshalling of such huge quantities of equipment and such tremendous numbers of men is at once both an index to our power and a refutation of Dewey's stupid charge made a few weeks ago that MacArthur's front was being neglected. At the time the President could not properly reply without violating military discretion, but now it is clear that great plans were in the making just as it was clear that something was afoot when the President toured the Pacific area to consult with its commanders.

So now the heroic defenders of the Philippines, the last-ditch fighters of Bataan, will be avenged. In the months since the islands fell there has been little news from them. But there is no doubt that many Filipinos have never stopped fighting the Japanese. The President's statement at the time of the American landings will give these guerrillas great heart, for it marks the beginning of our liberation of the Pacific peoples. "We shall free the enslaved peoples," he said. "We shall restore stolen lands and looted wealth. We shall strangle the Black Dragon of Japanese militarism forever." Implementing these words with effective political policies will rouse millions to work with us and give us that support without which our military tasks become unnecessarily difficult.

MORE and more, Germany is being boxed in. The "box," like all boxes, has four sides and four corners. The sides are the Baltic-North Sea coast, the Nieman-Narev-Vistula line, the Danube-Sava-Austrian Alps line and the Rhine. The "corners" are East Prussia and Holland at the top, and the Carpathians and Switzerland at the bottom.

The two top corners, guarding the shortest and flattest route to Berlin, are being attacked. The Canadians and British are pressing on in Belgium and Holland and Soviet Baltic armies are exerting pressure on East Prussia. The ports of Riga in the East and Antwerp in the west are both in Allied hands, but cannot be used because German guns on the West Schelde and on the capes guarding the Gulf of Riga block the entrances to both ports, which would add a great deal to the power of both northern offensives into the North German plain.

On the Rhine and on the Vistula semi-positional warfare has set in. These are hardly the sectors where a great breakthrough into Germany can be expected soon. The Swiss "cornerstone" in the southwest corner of the "box" still guards Germany with its mountains and its traditional neutrality. The Carpathian "cornerstone" has been completely turned by the Red Army and transformed into the Transylvanian trap for German and some Hungarian troops.

From Italy we have not come near the bottom of the "box" (the Brenner and other passes), but Marshal Malinovsky and Marshal Tito have kicked in the bottom, have straddled the Danube and left most mountain barriers behind. Soon to the daily communiques of Finland, Rumania, and Bulgaria might be added a Hungarian "pro-Allied" communique. When this happens the bottom of the "box" will have been shattered.

General Dempsey on the Neder Rijn (Lek), General Zakharov on the Narev with Chernyakhovsky on the Schirwindt and the Sesupe, and Marshal Malinovsky on the Middle Danube and the Tissa are now carrying the United Nations' ball. Generals Hodges, Patton, Patch, Marshals Rokossovsky and Konev are still "on the bench." General Wilson is stepping on Kesselring's and von Weichs' "tails" in Italy and Greece.

The general attack against the "box" is still in its preliminary stage. Outside the "box" the Balkan appendix of Germany has almost withered away, cut by the scalpels of the three Marshals—Malinovsky, Tolbukhin, and Tito. The Scandinavian appendix is being cut by the scalpels of General Meretskov (the Petsamo front) and by the (even if moderately enthusiastic) action of the Finns on the Tornea and Kemi front.

COLONEL T.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

By ROSCOE DUNJEE

AN INDEX FOR THE NEGRO VOTER

Mr. Dunjee is editor of the "Black Dispatch," influential Negro newspaper of Oklahoma City, Okla.

IF THE American Negro could but realize that this is a day and an hour when revolutionary changes are being formed in our social, political, and economic life, and that the Negro must adjust himself to this new pattern of living, there would not be so much difficulty among a number of our people in making decisions to support President Roosevelt for a fourth term. Just now, a section of Negro leadership shows alarming incapacity to shake itself free from its traditional protest complex and to undertake constructive action.

To me it is the height of stupidity for a black man to ponder and become alarmed over presidential tenure, so long as there are more fundamental and substantial issues that should command his attention. If a slave were released from bondage, would it be wise and prudent for the slave to advise with his former master on the length of life that should be extended to his liberator? This is the exact picture I see when a Negro leader begins to orate about how long President Roosevelt should remain in office. The important question for the Negro to decide at this moment is: how long can I retain the social, economic, and political gains that I have won under the Roosevelt administration? To pursue any other objective is to court suicide.

I plan to vote for and support the candidacy of President Roosevelt because in him I find an outspoken advocate of central control in government. I have always opposed the theory of "states' rights." The Republican Party, in its insane desire to shove Roosevelt off the political stage, has receded from its time-honored position on federalism and has joined with the most reactionary units of the Democratic Party in the espousal of the principles of "states' rights," and special legislation enacted by local governments, that has demoted the Negro from his status of complete citizenship since Lincoln gave him freedom. Jim Crowism, disfranchisement, segregation, low wage scales, inequalities in education, are all made possible by the application of "states' rights" to our governmental forms. I cannot conceive of sensible Negroes supporting any political party seeking to resurrect the undemocratic patterns which have well nigh frustrated 13,000,000 black men and women.

Negro leadership has often been stand-pat. That is the reason why many Negroes were wrong in their opinion when President Roosevelt selected Hugo Black for the Supreme Court. I held when Justice Black was nominated for the post he now holds, that he would bend over backward to support the program of the President. The fine outstanding record of this Alabamian since his elevation to the Supreme Court proves conclusively that those who criticized his appointment were wrong about his social outlook. In 1944 we find thousands of Negroes about to make the same mistake respecting Senator Truman of Missouri.

In their blind opposition to all white Southerners, these Negroes overlook Senator Truman's excellent record. They forget, or have never taken the time to find out, that Senator Truman during the past few years has voted for anti-lynching legislation, for anti-poll tax legislation, and has supported efforts to effect a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

I was one of those in Chicago who listened to that splendid speech of Vice President Wallace. I realize, as Senator Claude Pepper warned, that he was too democratic for the Democratic Party, but even so, if I am interested in the retention of President Roosevelt, I am too realistic to lose any time squabbling about water that has gone under the bridge. I do not believe during the next four years that the loss of Wallace as Vice President is going to effect any radical change in President Roosevelt's clearly defined program to free the masses from political and economic chains. Roosevelt and his liberalism brought Wallace into the national arena. Some folk seem to feel it was vice versa.

The forces now dominating the Republican Party are covertly opposing the new freedom that has come to the masses under the New Deal. What we characterize as the New Deal was never the official program of the Democratic Party. The New Deal represents the social, political, and economic philosophy of President Roosevelt. He has been dynamic and powerful enough to make this program acceptable to a majority of those with whom he is politically identified. Would it be possible for Negroes to be enjoying public housing, rent and food controls, stabilization of wages, farm subsidies such as were made possible under AAA, increase of land ownership as provided by the Farm Security Administration and the rehabilitation program, except through the exercise of federal power? Can there be any Negro outside of an insane asylum who feels that state government would have made an impartial approach to the Negro population in the administration of such governmental functions?

When the war is over and inevitable dislocations occur as a result of reconversion to peacetime production, would Negroes rather that job security be the responsibility of local governments, or would federal control, similar to WPA, NYA, CCC, and other federal agencies, serve best? Federal control is the Roosevelt way, and to my mind, the only way Negroes may find substantial relief during the postwar era. When Congress pitched the Murray-Truman-Kilgore bill out the window, every wide awake Negro in America should have leaped to the alert. This is the postwar pattern Republicans and reactionary Southerners have mapped for Negroes.

I could not conclude this statement without suggesting that during this confusion about postwar planning, one can get a clearer idea of what he should do by watching on which side of the fence the liberal-progressive forces of America align themselves. All of us must agree that the most militant voice of liberalism and democracy in America today is focused in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This labor organization is working day and night for the reelection of President Roosevelt. In my judgment this is the best index for Negroes, come November.

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FEAR AND THE FUTURE

By RALPH BOWMAN

Two years ago a United States Senator wrote a book on Thomas Jefferson. The event was passed over as a formal anniversary tribute, and largely forgotten. For not even a Democratic Senator is expected to be a scholar in the political philosophy of Jefferson or to take his violently disputed democratic principles seriously—much less to take them as his inspiration and guide to present-day problems. The early Jeffersonians are honored and venerated by historians and politicians as worthy men motivated by high ideals and patriotic integrity. This is because a century and a half separates us from their turbulent time, and men of small vision today consider those democratic ideals and principles safely embalmed in history.

But Sen. Elbert D. Thomas of Utah wrote his book in order to revive the vital principles of Jeffersonian philosophy as a guide to our generation in solving the unprecedented problems of today. The best proof of this contention is to be found in his new work, *The Four Fears*.* Supplementary evidence exists in the consistently progressive record of the senior Senator from Utah.

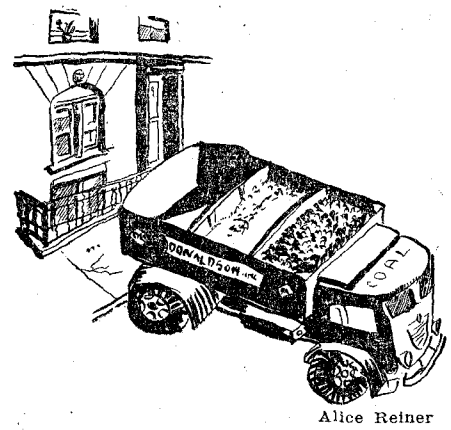
The title of this book does not do justice to the range and scope of problems treated by the author. Senator Thomas is concerned with postwar America and its relations to the new world now emerging from war-torn Europe and Asia. His approach is that of a man seeking fundamental solutions. In his introduction he poses a big question: "What kind of a society is this, anyway, that plunges us into a war every two decades?" The book is not an answer to this question; rather, it marks the path we must follow in order to create a peaceful and prosperous postwar world.

The first part of this work analyzes the four fears the author considers the chief obstacles to the realization of the Four Freedoms. The four fears are listed as the fear of humanist ideals, fear of international alliances, fear of England and Russia, and fear of revolution.

The subject is not new. Progressive thinkers and writers have been treating it for years. Opponents of fascism have shown how Hitler played upon these prejudices and how his native admirers have fostered them. To Mr. Thomas falls the distinction of exposing and branding these fears as a manifestation alien to our democratic traditions and to the teachings of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. He asks: "Why do we think that high principles are all right if the men who held them are safely dead? . . . Why is it splendid for Washington to have said he looked forward to a time when 'mankind may be connected, like one great family, in fraternal ties,' yet if other men declare the same thing today, they are ridiculed?" His answer is worthy of a disciple of Jefferson.

On "entangling alliances" he quotes both Washington and Jefferson to prove they were great Americans and true internationalists because they either sought or avoided alliances in a changing world situation in order to safeguard our young republic and preserve democracy in a hostile world. He adds, "Let us, therefore, look to our founding fathers for their wisdom, but let us remember always that it is our first duty to bring to bear on the problems of our time the sort of greatness and judgment they brought to theirs." Here he also elaborates his own idea of today "that just as we cannot win the war alone, we cannot win the peace alone."

After refuting our anti-British prejudices, the Senator combats the sinister proposal of world domination by an Anglo-American alliance, reminding his readers that "we seem to forget most of the time that most of the world does not read the English language . . . and does not want a boss in any language." And this keen statesman also senses the danger that an unbridled competition for British markets would weaken England and undermine world peace. Without sympathizing with Churchill's aim of preserving the colonial empire he calls for world economic cooperation coupled with the conscious spread and nourishment of democracy and self-government in all parts of the world.



Alice Reiner

In Jefferson's time the true test of a democrat was determined by his attitude to the French revolution. In our time it is determined by his attitude to the Russian revolution. By this test Elbert Thomas is a world democrat. For he not only approves of the Soviet republic but fervently hopes for democratic revolutions in China, India, and Europe. His chapter on Russia would have pleased Jefferson, whose consistent friendship for the then-maligned French revolution caused him to be labeled a "red Jacobin." Mr. Thomas does not belong to that school of liberals who gingerly accept the Soviet Union as a useful or tentative ally by virtue of its recently demonstrated military might or the alleged abandonment of its socialism. The author of this book is not terrified by the "raw head and bloody bones" version of Communism. He not only concedes the unconditional right to the people of Russia to choose the social-economic system best suited to their needs but suggests there are virtues in that system that the peoples of other countries may well study with profit. In recalling Jefferson's enemies' dishonest efforts to brand democracy as anarchy and a foreign ideology, he does not stoop to liken Communism to fascism. He is aware that the deliberately fanned anti-Russian prejudices comprise a menace to stable peace.

"And why," he asks, "are we now

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letting ourselves be fooled by the sly insinuations that she is not Hitler's enemy but ours? . . . What is back of the glib talk we hear . . . that we must fight Russia when this one is over?" His answer and reasoning makes profitable reading.

Dealing with the fourth fear, he examines the meaning of the observation that this war is also a revolution and reaffirms our own revolutionary principle of the inalienable right of any people to change their rulers or form of government. But lest someone should suspect that the Senator advocates disorder, violence, and bloodshed, let me quote his definition of revolution: ". . . any change that brings new laws, new institutions, new rulers, new ways of doing things, new ideas. Revolutions are not necessarily bloody." He believes that our present reputation in Europe does not coincide with Jefferson's sympathetic attitude toward people's liberation movements, and wonders if "for fear of violence to bodies we may be doing violence to souls." He feels that change toward progress "is the law of our American nature." Here is no defense of revolution for the mere love of change, but rather a defense of progressive change for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Thomas would like the peoples of the world to share the benefits of our democratic principles, adapted to their own conditions and needs. He realizes, as Jefferson did in his day, that the best security for our democratic rights is a democratic world.

In three additional chapters he treats the problems of world peace and freedom from want. Mr. Thomas writes in a homespun fashion as if he were talking to his neighbors, and his ideas stand out, clear and meaningful. He says, for instance, that "Freedom from want is not a war veteran's bonus. . . . Freedom from want is something all our people must have. And not just our people, but people everywhere. . . . For if no nation can survive half slave and half free, the modern world cannot survive half fed and half starving."

ELABORATING the conception that world economic prosperity, like world peace, is indivisible, he cites an economic lesson from the time of the Russian revolution. He relates how the dislocation and hardships during that event resulted in a drastic decline of tea consumption. The East Indians who had supplied the tea were now unable to buy cotton goods from Lancashire. British mills cut their purchases of American cotton. The South, as a result, was short of cash and could not pay its furniture bills to factories north of the Ohio River which in turn closed down because the Russians stopped drinking tea. "We shall not have freedom from war," he writes, "without freedom from want, and we shall not have freedom from want unless we are determined to do whatever is required to obtain it." Among measures to attain this goal he recommends that America help industrialize the economically backward countries and thus create new markets for our goods while building a prosperous world.

Mr. Thomas also deals with our domestic economy. He believes that "production is for consumption and the creation of welfare rather than wealth." He would not abolish monopolies and cartels, but rather make them absolutely responsible to the government. To those who fear social regulation of economic processes he answers that "government cannot stay out of business because business cannot get along without government." He disagrees with the statement of President Coolidge that "the business of America is business" and with Eric Johnston that "America and capitalism are synonymous," preferring to believe that "the business of America is civilization" and that "America is synonymous with democracy."

This modern Jeffersonian democrat, as Joseph North so aptly described him in a recent interview in NEW MASSES, has written a frank and thought-provoking book. The author shares the spirit of Jefferson's "cherishment of the people," his faith in the common man and his endless concern for the interests of all humanity. After reading this book one understands the mounting interest in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, who attained gigantic stature when he furnished America with a program and leadership in a period of great crisis. Today America finds itself at another and greater crossroads of history. Senator Thomas has shown us how the teachings of the great Virginian can again help us to choose the right road.

Brief Review

THE GREEN CONTINENT, *by German Arciniegas. Knopf. $3.50.*

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the writings of more than thirty distinguished Latin American historians, novelists, biographers, and political figures. And through the excellent translation of Harriet de Onis, the vast panorama of Latin America quickly unfolds. The collection's major shortcoming is the almost complete lack of material on contemporary political or social affairs. Dr. Arciniegas has lamentably shied away from such selections and has given us what is basically a literary anthology. In doing this—a service to be welcomed, of course—he has at least in one instance gone so far as to choose the writings of one of the hemisphere's most notorious fascists, Bolivia's Augusto Cespedes. He has also omitted some of the contemporary progressive writers of Latin America. Such an anthology should have included selections from the writings of, say, Brazil's brilliant Jorge Amado—perhaps from the latter's life of Luis Carlos Prestes—as well as from the works of a score of other writers closely associated with Latin America's growing democratic movement. Nevertheless, Dr. Arciniegas has given us a valuable study. As an introduction to the Latin American scene, it is especially useful for those people in this country who need to and should know more of what is behind our twenty sister republics to the south.

Polish Democracy

(*Continued from page 23*)

icy has been formulated for Yugoslavia with the aim of bringing about a union between the Royal Yugoslav government and Tito's movement of national liberation. Furthermore, the Yugoslav people are guaranteed the right to settle their future constitution by themselves after the war. And of pertinent interest is the report, thus far not officially confirmed but which it is reasonable to believe, that London, Moscow, and Washington have agreed to form a three-power commission to administer southeastern Europe during the period of Allied occupation. This development should answer effectively the unmitigated nonsense that the Soviet Union would deal unilaterally with the problems of the Balkans and eastern Europe.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

PEARL PRIMUS DANCES

By FRANCIS STEUBEN

IT CERTAINLY was an event in the dance world when Pearl Primus and her newly formed troupe of male dancers gave eleven performances at the Belasco Theater to enthusiastic houses. Broadway responded by practically unanimous acceptance of this rising young star.

Let it be said, without equivocation, that Pearl Primus is a great dancer. Magnificently endowed with a beautiful, strong, expressive body, she has, in addition, an intensity of spirit and a spontaneity of movement which impress and illumine even the most trivial of her conceptions. She has deservedly won the devotion and affection of large audiences, not only because her physical equipment is so brilliant and distinguished, but also because, as a spokesman for and of her people, she has indicated—perhaps better than any other Negro dancer—the extensions of their culture: its primitive folkways and jazz derivatives; its quiet lyricism as well as its rapturous ecstasy; its affirmations as well as its protest.

Pearl Primus has only ten dances in her entire repertoire—and yet much that is great and unforgettable comes through. Three of her numbers are African and Haitian rituals; two of them jazz improvisations; and the remainder are earnest, moving expressions of the dancer's bond with her people's heroic and martyred past and their to-be-fought-for future. Miss Primus has competent and exciting rivals in the field of jazz and rituals. She stands proudly alone, however, in what she has achieved in the second half of her repertoire.

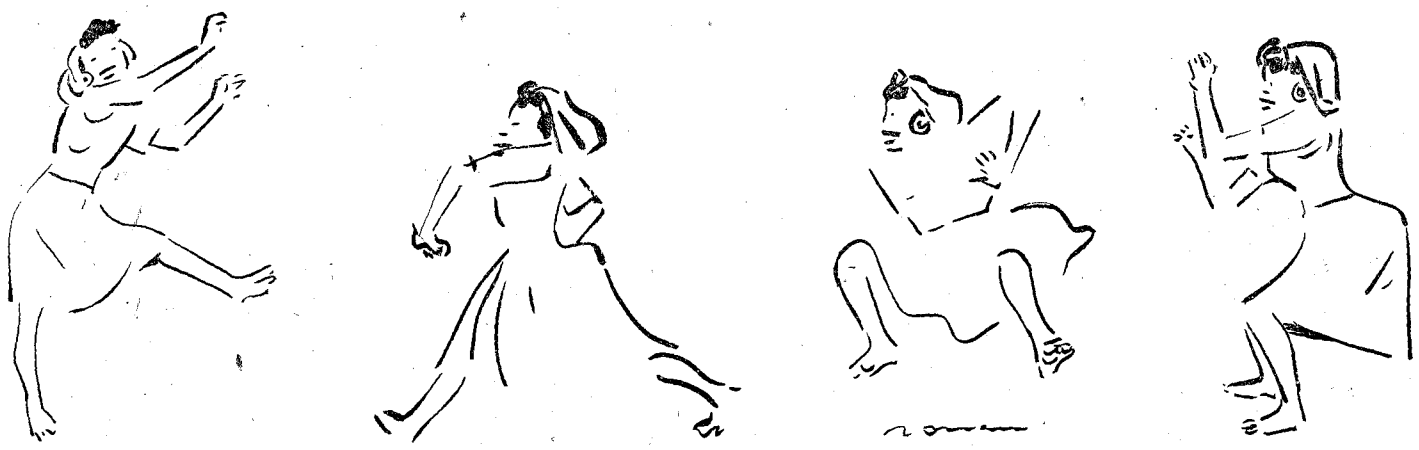
Pearl Primus is young, and the praise heaped upon her has been lavish. To this reviewer, her potentialities are so great that an uncritical acceptance, at this time, of her current program, is a disservice to the artist's development as well as to the cultural future of this country, to which Pearl Primus can make her unique contribution. The truth of the matter is, she has *indicated* her greatness without having *realized* it, and it certainly seems a deterrent to growth to accept without reservation what she has done up to this moment as unquestioned artistry.

Pearl Primus' concepts are deeply felt, but lack clear expression. The drama of the theme is always projected—a lynching, the bitter agony of slavery, etc., but these very social and artistic convictions demand imaginative and connotative movement of a creative caliber not always achieved by Miss Primus. This is true to a greater or less degree in "Strange Fruit," "Negro Speaks of Rivers," "Slave Market," "Our Spring Will Come." Actually, the dancer's emotional intensity is very often the only unifying element in the dance. Coupled with the persistent use of spoken or sung commentary which tells the "story" and ties up the program, this intensity tends to gloss over gaps in technical invention and gestural mannerisms which are reminiscent enough to be cliches. The stuff and substance of the craft itself—its inner connectives, its patterns of developing movement, its structural continuity—basic dance elements which cannot be conjured out of thin air—are resolved by Miss Primus in what seems too easy and too unoriginal a manner. Probably because of her natural gifts, the dancer seems to rely too heavily on spontaneity and to underrate, or at least to bypass, the more laborious, but surely the more rewarding, creative process of composition (as opposed to improvisation). These are limitations which are only serious to the extent that they are not recognized and dealt with.

Of lesser importance, but still to be considered in the over-all appraisal, are the questions of costuming, lights, and commentary, none of which match in taste and distinction the high level of the performer. This having been said, it is important to add that some of the dances left nothing to be desired: "Study in Nothing," "Rock Daniel," and most particularly, "Hard Time Blues"—the high point of the evening.

Of the troupe, Albert Popwell's delightful wisp of a "Mischievous Interlude," and Joe Camadore's terrifying solo in "Ague" were outstanding in an otherwise undistinguished ensemble.

Pearl Primus is great. In 1926 or



Pearl Primus, sketched by Estaban Soriano.

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thereabouts, this reviewer (oh so young!) heard an unknown singer, a winner in an audition for a performance at the Lewisohn Stadium. Those of us who sat in the twenty-five-cent section never forgot her voice, although she seemed quite immature and uncertain of herself at the time. Pearl Primus' dancing seems equally unforgettable to me today.

The singer, incidentally, was Marian Anderson.

FILMS OF THE WEEK

THE Warner version of *To Have and Have Not* may not be a literal version of the novel, but Humphrey Bogart as Harry Morgan is a Hemingway character to the very life. The author's understatement and the actor's technique blend beautifully to produce a *Homo Americanus*, a "right guy," who judges all political issues by the behavior of the men who espouse them. He is not moved to action by his opponents' social attitudes, but by *personal* reactions in his contacts with them. Being essentially decent, he will do the right thing when a choice must be made. Further, he is resourceful, tough, self-reliant, adventurous, and independent. He moves in accordance with the sentiments and emotions posed by a given situation, but regards the display of these emotions in himself with distaste. These qualities Bogart animates with great skill. If Hemingway is the most American of novelists, Bogart is the most American of actors.

The ingredients of *To Have and Have Not* are similar to *Casablanca's*. This time the action is in the French West Indies, right after Vichy moved in. As in the earlier film, we have the drama of the Free French underground and the Gestapo, counterposed against the casual background of cafe life. A boat-owner who makes a precarious living escorting fishing parties in the waters of Martinique, Morgan is aware of every political current that agitates the sub-surface of the Island. But he holds to the policy of minding his own business—the lone wolf, who thinks he knows when he is well off. He may have his private opinions about both sides, but they never interfere with his main purpose in life—Morgan.

At first, the single exception to his hard-boiled attitude is his relation to Eddie, the rum-soaked deck-hand, magnificently played by Walter Brennan. He is Morgan's one emotional outlet, his only relaxation from the tough-guy pose. Here Morgan can be magnanimous, not only because he has a genuine affection for Eddie, but because the old man makes no demands upon his philosophy of life.

Morgan's rigid hands-off policy begins to crack when he tires of getting kicked around by the Gestapo. Once he discovers the differences between the two political groups in the light of his own indignation, he moves in to help. Willy-nilly he is part of the fight, not yet for political reasons, but because he has likes and dislikes built up out of a practical ethic. Nobody can slap women around and get away with it, no man can take his money and his passport. As the Gestapo gets tougher, so does Morgan.

Like all Bogart films, *To Have and Have Not* has its affairs of the heart. The distaff side is entrusted to a newcomer, Lauren Bacall, who is veneered with a layer of savvy that complements the wary Morgan. She does quite well—though she gets little help in the beginning from script-writers Furthman and Faulkner, who give her a fuzzy send-off: if she is not as well realized as Morgan, it is not her fault. She appears only in scenes with Morgan, whereas some of his best sequences are made away from her. His business with Johnson, a sportsman who hires his boat to go after swordfish, is one of the best single incidents ever made on the Warner lot. Bacall, however, comes to life as her relationship with Morgan becomes part of the film's central adventure. She is direct, forceful, immediately seductive in her mannerism. When he calls her Slim, he admits she is a right guy.

The musical interludes in the film contain some smart popular entertainment built around Hoagy Carmichael. Hoagy has been composing song hits as long as I can remember, and at the piano he provides a polish that gives the cafe atmosphere much substance. Lauren Bacall contributes an occasional song, not only to please the customers, but to emphasize, by contrast with her singing, the tense melodrama around her. In the light of her general tone and character, it is not surprising to discover that her voice has a low throaty tone said to have appeased the wild animals that used to gather outside the saloons of primitive America.

To Have and Have Not, from the matter-of-fact mingling of Negro and white throughout its length, to the final behavior of its leading figures, is an accomplishment in the making of democratic pictures. Though it is not stated as explicitly here as in the book, you sense somehow, that like Hemingway's Harry Morgan, the film's hero has also learned the prime fact of modern life—a man alone hasn't got a chance.

"OUR Hearts Were Young and Gay," which followed *Double Indemnity* into the Paramount, is as devoted to "good clean fun" as the latter film was to suspense and murder. It is based on the book by Cornelia Otis Skinner and Emily Kimbrough, who recorded their unchaperoned trip to Europe as college girls in 1923. Right off the bat the film disclaims any connection with its period. And believe me, the disclaimer is justified. The twenties introduced the flapper—the know-it-all generation—the "what-the-hell-let's-take-a-drink" school of cynicism. But not one whiff of these social winds is permitted to ruffle a hair of the sweet girl graduates. If it weren't for the occasional snatches of popular music of the time, *Our Hearts* might well have been a sachet of Victorian smell and design.

On any terms, it is difficult to make the doings credible. The girls are nineteen, but their naivete is out of history and reality. Imagine a college student being in ignorance of what the English £ stands for. Similar expressions of innocence pop up continually.

The picture has some surface charm, and a few genuinely funny moments, but most of the humor is labored and none of it seems true. Whatever it was meant to do, *Our Hearts* don't beat very strongly.

"LAURA," which might have been a superlative mystery, is only moderately good because of its central character's miscasting. The heroine is supposed to be to modern society what Helen was to Troy. In the film she reduces to love-sick calves a weary, satiated gigolo, a case-hardened Lucius Beebe fashion-plate who spends his odd hours in dress and epigram, and a hard-boiled cop. It takes quite a woman to pulverize such types. Gene Tierney, who plays Laura, is hardly up to the job. It's not her fault, but by structure and anatomic arrangement her face and personality are far too sweet and demure.

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The rest of the cast is excellent, and contribute largely to what success the film has. The action takes place within that layer of society a notch or two below the horsey set, but able to take the $150 pajama ads seriously. Characters pursue each other through one cozy apartment after another, all the while tossing off *bon mots* and cynical observations, or what is supposed to pass for them in such company.

The suspense is carefully worked out. The interest is maintained over long stretches—even with unlikely motivation and character, which is a measure of the skill of director Otto Preminger. Much care and money was spent on the film to make it an outstanding creeper. It is so well handled that it might have survived all its mistakes and succeeded, but for its choice of an unbelievable Laura.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

On Broadway

BROADWAY this week saw two mystery plays, of which I caught only Herman Shumlin's production, *The Visitor*. The play is a cruelly inept dramatization by Kenneth White of the novel written by Leane Zugsmith and Carl Randau. Revolving around the identity of a boy who ran away from home three years earlier and turns up at curtain time, it does little more than confuse the action with misleading cues and unrealized characterizations. Mr. Shumlin's usually sensitive direction seems to have deserted him when he faced this play of his own choice. Nowhere is this more painfully apparent than in the clumsy impression such a fine actor as Ralph Forbes makes. Even Howard Bay has nodded—for his living room set gives us one wholly unrealized exit to the street and a staircase which simply goes into the wall and ends there. Altogether something to forget and forgive.

H. T.

Klansmen

(*Continued from page 8*)

old friend of Benadum's, he said. Benadum told me he and Romer shared a deep admiration for Father Coughlin. But Romer advised everyone there to "vote a straight Republican ticket, from President down to all county officers"? Oh, yes, said Benadum. Among other speakers at the America First meeting were Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago, now on trial for sedition, and Mrs. Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, head of We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., one of the most active of the pro-fascist mothers' groups.

I also visited two other industrial towns, Anderson and Kokomo. In Anderson, as in Muncie, race hatred among backward workers has been a problem in the United Auto Workers-CIO locals. The Republicans have attempted to exploit this in appealing to Negro voters by identifying discrimination with the CIO, PAC, and Roosevelt. I talked to a man and his wife who have worked for fifteen years at the Delco-Remy plant in Anderson, where 15,000 are employed. "There are some Kluxers in our local," they told me. "They got through a resolution to Jim Crow our local's clubrooms. We have to get it rescinded now."

In Kokomo I found that it is almost taken for granted that Republican County Clerk Robert J. Hemp, who had America First signs in his office right up to Pearl Harbor, displays material in his office which might influence soldiers voting there. Next to the booths where soldiers vote was a postcard, circulated by the anti-Roosevelt American Democratic National Committee, showing an idiot's face with a slogan indicating he was for FDR. In an adjoining room was more material of the same kind.

Evidently leading Republicans are not too concerned about where they get support. Mrs. Lillian Milner, for seven years a party worker under Mrs. Eleanor Snodgrass, head of the GOP women's division in the state, told me: "I think the Klan is working under cover now. You never know in Indiana how a person feels about the Klan. I don't see what's wrong with it. A lot of colored people come in here and say the Klan never hurt them. D. C. Stephenson hurt the Klan a lot, but say, he's no more business being in prison than anything. He never murdered that girl. The Catholics raised $75,000 to put him there. We have Catholic women in our clubs, but we never talk religion. Jewish women? I don't know, we may have some, but I don't know them."

All in all, I found abundant evidence that though Robert W. Lyons has nominally resigned as boss of the Indiana Republican Party, the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist, race-hate groups have not resigned, nominally or otherwise. Their political and financial connections are of the best, and they are determined to win Indiana for Candidates Dewey and Bricker.

A second article by Miss Gardner will appear in next week's issue.

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Germany's Future

(*Continued from page* 20)

into arsenals of aggression and lifted Hitler to the chancellorship. In other words the German problem is at the core an historical and social one and not technological. It would serve no purpose to throw Germany back to a pre-capitalist stage of development, to a medieval economic culture, to the status of agricultural producer to which Hitler tried to reduce France and Poland. For that would mean the destruction of potentially the most progressive force in Germany—the German working class—in whose hands in time, whether ten or fifty years, Germany's salvation rests.

Having said that I can be easily charged with advocating a soft peace. For critics will point out that I do not differ from those Hitlerphiles in the press and public life who blasted the so-called Morgenthau plan. But there is a fundamental difference—a difference as striking as night from day. And that difference is that the soft-peace makers do not want to see Germany de-industrialized because they do not want to see those who now control German factories shorn of every vestige of power, punished for their complicity in Hitler's crimes and made to pay for every stitch of damage they caused. I want to see the Allies take every measure necessary to control German industry, to uproot the vast penetration of the German cartel system; I want to see the Allies eliminate and bring to trial those who pulled the switches of the German war machine, whether the control boards were at some battlefront or in comfortable business offices in Berlin; I want to see German industry so reorganized that it is used to rebuild Europe, to restore what has been destroyed—even if that means shifting whole plants, including their workers, to devastated countries. That means, too, reparations and territorial changes. And alongside these stern economic and geographic measures there must be political projects under United Nations auspices—with the assistance of tested German anti-fascists—to force Germany back into the civilized community.

If space permitted there is much more to be said about the whole issue. But it rock bottom none of these measures will mean anything, no plans will be satisfactory unless they have the agreement of the leading Allied powers on whom the security of the future devolves. That is the foundation for everything else.

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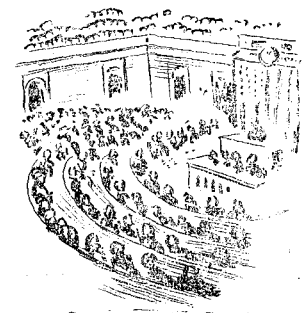

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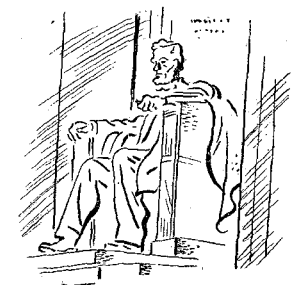

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